No 11

The American Historical Review

Board of Editors

GEORGE B. ADAMS
GEORGE L. BURR
ALBERT BUSHNELL HART
J. FRANKLIN JAMESON
ANDREW C. McLAUGHLIN
WILLIAM M. SLOANE

Managing Editor

J. FRANKLIN JAMESON

VOL. XIV NO. 1 OCTOBER 1908

ISSUED QUARTERLY

CONTENTS

CHARLES H. HASKINS	The International Historical Congress at Berlin	1
DAVID J. HILL	The Ethical Function of the Historian	9
FERDINAND SCHEVILL	San Galgano: a Cistercian Abbey of the Middle Ages	22
JAMES W. THOMPSON	Some Economic Factors in the Revocation of the Edicts of Nantes	38
ST. GEORGE L. SIOUSSAT	Some Phases of Tennessee Politics in the Jackson Period	51

DOCUMENTS—**Letters of Sir George Simpson, 1841–1843,** *contributed by* **Joseph Schafer.** 70

REVIEWS OF BOOKS—**Pais's** *Ancient Italy*; **Vinogradoff's** *English Society in the Eleventh Century*; **Webb's** *English Local Government*; **De Lanzac de Laborie's** *Paris sous Napoléon*; **Walpole's** *History of Twenty-five Years*, III., IV.; **Lowell's** *Government of England*; **Fisher's** *The Struggle for American Independence*; **Howe's** *Life and Letters of George Bancroft*; **Bigelow's** *Letters and Literary Memorials of Samuel J. Tilden*; **Blair and Robertson's** *The Philippine Islands*, XLVII.–LIII.; and other reviews. 95

(For a complete list of reviews see next page.)

NOTES AND NEWS 191

THE MACMILLAN COMPANY
41 NORTH QUEEN ST., LANCASTER, PA.
64-66 FIFTH AVE., NEW YORK.
LONDON: MACMILLAN AND CO., LTD.

Entered at the post-office, Lancaster, Pa., as second-class mail matter.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

GENERAL BOOKS AND BOOKS OF ANCIENT HISTORY

Pais, *Ancient History*, by Professor C. H. Moore 95
Helmott, *History of the World*, V., by Professor A. C. Coolidge 97
Turmel, *Histoire du Dogme de la Papauté*, by Professor F. A. Christie 99

BOOKS OF MEDIEVAL AND MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

Halphen, *Recueil des Actes de Lothaire et de Louis V.*, by Professor C. H. Haskins 101
Prou, *Recueil des Actes de Philippe Ier*, by the same 101
Vinogradoff, *English Society in the Eleventh Century* 102
Bédier, *Les Légendes Épiques*, by Professor F. M. Warren 104
Ramsay, *The Dawn of the Constitution*, by Professor R. K. Richardson 106
Stevenson, *Marine World Chart of Canerio Januensis*, by V. H. Paltsits 108
Bain, *Slavonic Europe*, by Professor R. C. H. Catterall 110
Theal, *History and Ethnography of Africa*, I., by Professor A. L. P. Dennis 111
De Trésal, *Les Origines du Schisme Anglican*, by Professor R. B. Merriman 113
Hartranft, *Corpus Schwenckfeldianorum*, I., by Professor G. L. Burr 114
Herre, *Papsttum und Papstwahl im Zeitalter Philipps II.*, by Professor R. B. Merriman 117
Courteault, *Blaise de Monluc Historien*, by the same 119
Granville, *The King's General in the West*, by Professor W. C. Abbott 120
Whetham, *History of the Life of Colonel Nathaniel Whetham*, by the same 120
Webb, *English Local Government*, by Professor G. E. Howard 122
Waddington, *La Guerre de Sept Ans*, IV., by Professor Victor Coffin 125
De Lanzac de Laborie, *Paris sous Napoléon* 127
Oman, *History of the Peninsular War*, III., by Colonel T. A. Dodge 131
Loevinson, *Giuseppe Garibaldi e la sua Legione* 133
Trevelyan, *Garibaldi's Defence of the Roman Republic*, by H. N. Gay 134
Walpole, *History of Twenty-five Years*, III., IV., by W. R. Thayer 136
Cunningham, *Rise and Decline of the Free Trade Movement*, by Professor H. C. Emery 138
Lowell, *The Government of England* 140

BOOKS OF AMERICAN HISTORY

Fisher, *The Struggle for American Independence*, by Professor J. A. Woodburn 143
Steiner, *Life and Correspondence of James McHenry* 145
Moore, *The Works of James Buchanan*, by Professor William MacDonald 147
Howe, *Life and Letters of George Bancroft*, by the same 150
Bigelow, *Letters and Literary Memorials of Samuel J. Tilden* 152
Pendleton, *Alexander H. Stephens*, by W. G. Brown 155
Blair and Robertson, *The Philippine Islands*, XLVII.–LII., by J. A. LeRoy 156
Robertson, *Bibliography of the Philippine Islands*, by the same 157
Denys, *Description of the Coasts of North America*, by J. P. Baxter 161
García, *La Intervencion Francesa en México*, by Professor C. A. Duniway 163
Moses, *South America on the Eve of Emancipation* 164
MINOR NOTICES 166
TEXT-BOOKS 187

The American Historical Association supplies the REVIEW *to all its members; the Executive Council of the Association elects members of the Board of Editors.*

Correspondence in regard to contributions to the REVIEW *may be sent to the Managing Editor, Professor J. F. Jameson, Carnegie Institution, Washington, D. C., or to the Board of Editors. Books for review may be sent to the Managing Editor. Subscriptions should be sent to The Macmillan Company, 41 North Queen St., Lancaster, Pa., or 66 Fifth Ave., New York. The price of subscription, to persons who are not members of the American Historical Association, is four dollars a year; single numbers are sold for one dollar; bound volumes may be obtained for four dollars and a half. Back numbers or volumes of the* REVIEW *may be obtained at the same rates.*

COPYRIGHT, 1908, BY THE MACMILLAN COMPANY

THE NEW ERA PRINT,
LANCASTER, PA.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Volume XIV] *October, 1908* [*Number 1*

The

American Historical Review

THE INTERNATIONAL HISTORICAL CONGRESS AT BERLIN[1]

INTERNATIONAL congresses of historians are a comparatively new phase of the international gatherings of scholars which have in recent years become well established in most fields of learning, and their organization presents special difficulties. The subject-matter of history is more vast and far less uniform than that of the various natural sciences, and so much of it possesses only local or, at most, national interest that it is by no means easy to find sufficient common ground, apart from questions of method which are too often arid or fruitless, while the topics of widest interest, being often the very ones which divide nations and faiths, are not always well adapted to peaceful discussion. In the absence of any appropriate machinery for such purposes, the Société d'Histoire Diplomatique undertook the organization of the first congress, which was held at the Hague in 1898, as well as the one which met at Paris two years later. Of wider range and more largely attended was the congress held in Rome in 1903. The meeting there fixed for Berlin in 1906 was by the committee in charge postponed until this summer, so that five years may now be considered the normal interval.

As a meeting-place for historians Berlin stands in the sharpest possible contrast to Rome. The Prussian capital is a thoroughly modern city, the creation of comparatively recent times, and possesses neither the monuments nor the atmosphere of a rich historic past. Berlin prides itself on its modernity, and nowhere is the latest edition of one's Baedeker so essential. On the other hand, if Berlin is not rich in historical remains, it has a vigorous and fruitful tradition of historical study and research. The greatest interpreter of ancient Rome to the modern world was a Berlin professor, Theodor Mommsen, and no one will deny that Berlin is still the most active

[1] August 6–12, 1908.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

centre for the investigation of that ancient world from which in time and space it stands so far removed. It is from Berlin that the influence of Ranke's seminary and Niebuhr's critical method went forth, and in our own day the advancement of historical learning has no more active agencies than the University of Berlin and the Royal Prussian Academy. A meeting in such a centre could not prove otherwise than stimulating and fruitful. About eleven hundred attended the congress, coming from places as remote as Egypt, Brazil and Japan, as well as from all parts of Europe, from Scotland and Finland to Greece and Portugal. The total number, however, was less than at Rome, and the geographical distribution somewhat more uneven. The absence of the usual reduced rates on the railroads counted for something, and the fear of a Berlin August doubtless counted for more—although in fact the weather proved most delightful. The small number present from France was especially noteworthy, and the size of the American delegation, though respectable, was a disappointment to the management of the congress, which had the American vacation period in mind in fixing the date of the meeting.

The local arrangements were admirable and were carried out with efficiency and precision. The new and centrally located buildings of the Prussian Landtag which were placed at the disposal of the congress offered commodious and even luxurious headquarters, with committee rooms, post-office, ticket-office, restaurant and places for informal coming together. The meetings were all held in these buildings or in the immediate neighborhood, so that no time was lost in wandering about. Acquaintance was facilitated by a printed list of members with daily supplements, and each day a bulletin of from thirty to sixty pages appeared in four languages, containing programmes, announcements, etc. Each member received a specially prepared volume descriptive of Berlin and an excellent set of maps. Special exhibits were arranged and special facilities given for visiting the many museums of historical interest in Berlin, and those concerned with libraries and archives had opportunity to see, under expert guidance, the Prussian archives and the new building of the Royal Library. Too much cannot be said of the generous hospitality with which the congress was received and the delightful opportunities for social intercourse. The meeting opened with an informal reception in the buildings of the Reichstag, and succeeding evenings were occupied by a formal dinner given by the city of Berlin in the Rathhaus, a general subscription banquet for members of the congress, and *Kneipen* of the various sections. A special performance

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of *Die Hochzeit von Figaro* was given at the Kroll Opera, and students from the University of Halle repeated for the benefit of the congress scenes from the recently discovered comedies of Menander. An afternoon and evening were given to an excursion to Potsdam and Wannsee, and after the close of the congress many members accepted an invitation to visit Hamburg as guests of the city. Besides the festal occasions of a more general and official character, time was left free for smaller receptions and for the more intimate hospitality of many of the university professors. Especial praise should be given to the excellent arrangements which were made for the reception and entertainment of the ladies in attendance upon the congress, for whom a special local committee had prepared an elaborate series of excursions and visits to places and institutions of special feminine interest.

As at Rome, the congress was divided into eight sections, each being in charge of a Berlin professor. These were: I. Oriental history, Professor Sachau; II. History of Greece and Rome, Professor Eduard Meyer; III. Political history of the Middle Ages and modern times, Professor Dietrich Schäfer; IV. Medieval and modern *Kulturgeschichte,* Professor Roethe, with a sub-section on the history of the natural sciences under the charge of Professor von Buschka; V. Legal and economic history, Professor Gierke; VI. Church history, Professor Harnack; VII. Archaeology, divided into an ancient group under Professor Kekulé von Stradonitz and a medieval and modern group under Professor Wölfflin; VIII. Auxiliary sciences, Professor Tangl. In some respects this arrangement was an improvement on the grouping of the eight sections of the Roman congress, but the history of geography received less attention than at Rome, and the thinness, at times, of the programme in church history showed the unfortunate result of thus narrowing a field which at Rome included the history of religions and of philosophy. The subordination of economic to legal history was likewise regrettable. Overlappings were inevitable under any arrangement, and so were the conflicts of hours which prevented even the most rigid specialist from hearing all the papers which particularly interested him. At the sessions of the several sections, which either singly or in occasional joint meetings of two, occupied the morning hours, three papers were ordinarily read. Each paper was expected to lead to a discussion, but as the half-hour assigned to the reader was nearly always considerably stretched, the discussion was often of necessity omitted. At 12.30 each day the congress met in general session to listen to addresses of more general interest chosen from the various sections.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

It is quite out of the question to attempt an analysis or even an enumeration of the principal papers read during the six days' meetings, and a few general impressions must suffice. The range of topics treated was remarkable, not only for the extent of time and space covered, but also for the catholic inclusion of the most varied aspects of historical study. Few, for example, will deny that the history of natural science is a subject of great importance to historical students, not only as a significant chapter in the history of ideas but as exerting a profound influence upon the material conditions of human existence; yet it is not usual for historical congresses to have a daily session in this field, nor is it often that a speaker can bring forward material of such freshness as the newly found writings of Archimedes described by their discoverer, Professor Heiberg, of Copenhagen. Again, the history of literature has been so largely studied apart from other phases of history that both historians and students of literature need more of such addresses as that of Professor Rajna of Florence on history and popular epic, or that of Professor Alexander Bugge of Christiania on the origin and credibility of the Icelandic sagas. From still another side a great chapter of human history lay behind the brilliant analysis given by Professor Cumont of Ghent of the development and spread of that astrological religion which constituted the last great phase of ancient paganism. Repeated illustrations appeared of the services being rendered by archaeological research to the advancement of historical knowledge. That seemingly inexhaustible repository of historical material, the monuments and papyri of Egypt, naturally occupied the first place, and Messrs. Maspero and Grenfell were there to tell of them; but new light was thrown on other dark corners by the excavations, described by Professor von Stern of Odessa, which reveal the strength and persistence of classical traditions in the Greek cities north of the Black Sea, and by the chapter from Sir William Ramsay's lifelong studies of the monuments of Asia Minor in which he traced social and ecclesiastical conditions in Lycaonia from the flourishing period of the fourth century to the decay which the deadening influence of the orthodox church brought about long before the Turkish conquest. An admirable example of the synthetic use of the new information derived from inscriptions and papyri was the address in which Professor Rostowzew of St. Petersburg examined the origins of an institution of far-reaching importance and, until recently, of great obscurity, the Roman colonate, and showed its derivation from the social and agrarian conditions of Egypt and Syria in Hellenistic and still earlier times.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The instances just given illustrate the general tendency of the papers toward the less-worked fields of history. In the Greek and Roman section, apart from three papers which showed the perennial interest of scholars in the origins of Rome, nearly all of the communications dealt with the Hellenistic and later Roman periods, and there was a singular absence of themes connected with the narrative sources. Most of the medieval contributions dealt with the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, though a fragment discovered at the Vatican by Professor Conrat of Amsterdam showed that new matter may occasionally be found in so well-worked a field as that of Frankish institutions. In treating the political history of modern times, on the other hand—the series of topics in economic and legal history took a wide range—nearly all of the speakers limited themselves to the history of Germany and the Scandinavian countries, and in all of the sections there was a notable absence of anything relating to the history of America and the Far East or to colonial matters in general. The papers on German history were remarkably good, that of Professor Marcks of Hamburg on Bismarck's student days and that of Professor Busch of Tübingen on Bismarck and the origin of the North German Confederation being in particular among the most successful of the whole congress. The importance of a little used source for recent history was emphasized by Professor Spann of Strassburg, who made a plea for the preservation and utilization of newspapers in Germany in some such fashion as has long been usual in the principal American libraries.

Controversial topics were generally avoided, or if treated, they were handled in an objective fashion, as in Professor Finke's notable summary of conditions in Germany antecedent to the Reformation. The impartial collection of the materials for German ecclesiastical history was proposed by the director of the Prussian Historical Institute at Rome, Dr. Kehr, and Professor Brackmann of Marburg in a plan for a monumental *Germania Sacra* which should comprehend the history of German dioceses, cathedrals and monasteries from the earliest times. A touch of temperament was given to one session by Professor Merkle of Würzburg, the well-known exponent of modernism, in a spirited discussion of the attitude of the Catholic Church and its historians toward the religious *Aufklärung* of the eighteenth century in south Germany.

The international character of the congress was excellently exemplified by a number of papers which dealt with international relations, using that term in its broadest sense and not limiting it to the

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

diplomatic and military contact of states. Thus the well-known master of diplomatics, Professor Bresslau of Strassburg, treated in a most suggestive manner an interesting phase of internationalism as seen in the form and style of official documents in the Middle Ages, showing the widespread influence of the chanceries of the popes, the German emperors and the Anglo-Saxon kings. Professor Schybergson of Helsingfors described the relations of the Göttingen historians to those of Finland and Sweden in the later eighteenth century. Professor Pirenne of Ghent gave an admirable analysis of the forces which produced the Burgundian state out of portions of France and Germany, and showed how the Burgundian dukes solved the problem of creating a central government which later served as a model for Austria. Comparative studies on closely related themes were those of Dr. Kaser of Vienna, tracing the emergence of the modern forms of government in the German territories in the fifteenth century; of Professor Rachfahl of Giessen, dealing with problems in the comparative history of assemblies of estates; of Professor Pélissier of Montpellier on the Italian *signorie*; and of Professor Sieveking of Zürich on the development of capitalism in the Italian cities. The history of law also furnished problems of international interest, as in Professor Vinogradoff's discussion of the influence of ideas of reason and equity in the English jurisprudence of the sixteenth century, and in the study of the Germanic element in Spanish law made by Professor Hinojosa y Naveros of Madrid. A still broader subject was suggested by Prince Teano in describing the plan of his great work on Islam.

The United States was represented on the general programme by Ambassador Hill, whose paper on "The Ethical Function of the Historian" had the place of honor at the opening session. Mr. Hill, who gave added pleasure to his audience by speaking in German, discussed particularly the characteristic differences between the methods of history, which seeks qualitative knowledge, and the quantitative processes of the exact sciences. In the Oriental section the American speakers were Professor Reisner of Harvard, director of the excavations of the Egyptian government at Assouan, who described the royal tombs of the Fourth Dynasty, and Professor Haupt of Johns Hopkins, who presented some novel views on the early history of Galilee. Dr. Carter, Director of the American School of Classical Studies in Rome, proposed in the second section a new explanation of the legend of Romulus and Remus, and in the section on medieval and modern history Professor Haskins of Harvard

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

discussed, especially from the point of view of English constitutional development, the institutions of Normandy under William the Conqueror. Professor Kuno Francke described the international aims and purpose of the Germanic Museum of Harvard University, and in the section of ecclesiastical history Professor McGiffert of Union Theological Seminary presented certain "Prolegomena to the History of Protestant Thought". Other Americans registered at the congress were Professors Boas and Hirth of Columbia, Richardson of Yale, Lanman and Münsterberg of Harvard, Freund of Chicago, Fish of Wisconsin, Sterrett of Cornell, Jessen of Bryn Mawr, and Klaeber of Minnesota, Drs. Robinson and Valentiner of the Metropolitan Museum in New York, and Mr. Leland of the Carnegie Institution.

The problem of organization and entertainment for such a congress as that of Berlin presents, to compare greater things with smaller, some of the same difficulties which are encountered in the more frequent and more local meetings of the American Historical Association and related bodies, and one who knows something of the embarrassment of American committees may be pardoned a certain satisfaction in observing that, in spite of daily revision, the printed programme of the congress never succeeded in predicting accurately what was to appear the next day, so numerous were the transfers and defections at the last moment. As regards the substance of the programme, allowance must of course be made for the wider range and more varied affiliations of an international body, but one could wish that American scholarship were accomplishing more in such fields as ancient history and that our students were more prone to extend their interests beyond the merely political and economic. Some of the papers at Berlin were dry and some were thin, but as a whole they represented a distinctly higher level than is reached in most of our American meetings. The subjects were usually larger and were treated with more complete mastery, as regards both substance and presentation. Each speaker averaged twice the time allotted normally at the meetings of the American Historical Association, yet the interest rarely flagged, a result due in large measure to the German habit of speaking rather than reading on such occasions; and the discussion, when there was discussion, was trenchant without being ill-tempered. That these qualities are not reserved for international occasions in Germany is evident to one at all familiar with the proceedings of the biennial *Historikertage*. The dominant impression of the congress was a deepened appreciation of the comprehensiveness and the vitality of

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

German scholarship and of the cordial good-will of German scholars for those of other lands. The Berlin congress completed the transformation of the amateurish gathering of ten years ago into a well-organized scientific body, and great credit is due to the efficient and tactful president, Dr. Reinhold Koser, Director of the Prussian Archives, and to those inspired and inspiring scholars, Professors Eduard Meyer and Ulrich von Wilamowitz-Möllendorff, who with the president constituted the organizing committee.

The next international historical congress will be held in London in September, 1913, under the general management of the British Academy.

CHARLES H. HASKINS.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE ETHICAL FUNCTION OF THE HISTORIAN[1]

THE question, "What is History?" is closely connected with that deepest of all questions, "What is Human Life?". For, whatever in reality human life may be, history is the record of its development, its progress and its manifestations.

I have said "the record" rather than the historic process itself, because that is the phase of the subject with which the historian has primarily to deal. What this process really is, what is its inherent principle of change, what are the categories of its manifestations—these are questions for the philosopher rather than the historian to discuss.

But, in truth, the historian cannot separate himself from some conception—general or specific, positive or negative, real or ideal—of the process whose transmutations he describes. Even if he were able to do so, language has already settled that question for him; for he cannot tell the simplest story without some implications regarding the nature of the process which forms the substance of his narrative.

Frankly, then, the fundamental problem for the historian is to determine the peculiar nature of his task; and he is greeted at the very threshold of his inquiry with the questions: What is the purpose for which historical science exists? What is the nature of historic truth? How does history differ from other sciences? How does the historic process appear as seen from within? And what in consequence is the chief function of the historian?

Without attempting to give a definite answer to all or any of these difficult questions, of which the majority of my colleagues in this congress, from deeper knowledge and riper experience, are much better qualified than I to express opinions, and with an acute sense of my limited attainments in this vast field of inquiry in which many of my countrymen have rendered themselves far more entitled to be heard, I shall, nevertheless, venture to touch upon some of these topics in such a manner as to emphasize one function of the historian that seems to me from the nature of history as a science to be worthy of our attention.

[1] An address delivered at the opening of the International Congress for Historical Sciences, at Berlin, on August 6, 1908.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

I.

If, as will perhaps be generally admitted, the purpose of history is to reinstate the past and render it intelligible by a rigorous separation of fact from fiction, it is only by a gradual process that mankind has arrived at that conception. As in the contemplation of nature, so in the first estimate of human deeds, wonder rather than exact comprehension was undoubtedly the chief source of inspiration. The unusual, the extraordinary in every sense, most attracted attention, impressed memory and stimulated phantasy. The earliest traditions were, therefore, of great heroes and great occasions, while the phenomena of ordinary life, like the habitual course of nature, passed without observation and left no trace behind. Depending entirely upon the accidents of memory, modified from generation to generation by unconscious imaginative accretions, the saga and the legend for long ages satisfied the needs of primitive men in relation to the past.

With the invention of the art of writing, inscriptions, annals and chronicles gradually superseded the more fluid medium of oral tradition, and gave to the record of human events a more fixed and definite character. But the same tendencies of mind that stimulated imagination in the saga and the legend continued to act, and imparted even to written documents the quality of unconscious falsification.

Until this tendency was restrained by a counteracting influence sufficiently potent to repress it, history as a science was of course impossible; and it is interesting to note that, although in previous ages men were often ready to die for what seemed to them the truth, the faculty and conception of reverence for truth *as such,* and *for itself,* apart from its personal, party, or national consequences, are, even in the modern world, comparatively recent acquisitions. As Lord Acton, speaking of the scientific sense of truth, has tersely said, "The notion and analysis of conscience are scarcely older than the year 1700; and the notion and analysis of veracity are scarcely older than our time, barring certain sacred writings of East and West."

It is a noteworthy fact that about the time assigned by Lord Acton to the rise of the notion and analysis of conscience—namely the end of the seventeenth and the beginning of the eighteenth century—the natural sciences were already showing signs of a new life, and historical science was just beginning. It was in 1681 that the great work of Mabillon, *De Re Diplomatica,* which created the science of determining the age and authenticity of documents,

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

first appeared, the supplement being published in 1704. About the same time, in 1690, appeared the *Histoire des Empereurs* of Le Nain de Tillemont, who, according to Monod, was "the first to teach how historical truth is arrived at by rigorous analysis and comparison of texts". It was in the year 1700 that Muratori began at Modena to gather and edit the documents which form his great compilation of authentic texts. In 1708, Montfaucon laid the foundations of Greek epigraphy by the publication of his *Palaeographia Graeca,* soon afterward followed by the great collections of texts for French history. In Germany, Leibnitz, in 1700, founded the Royal Prussian Academy of Sciences at Berlin, and began, in 1707, his *Scriptores Rerum Brunsvicensium,* the originality of which, according to Wegele, consisted in "relying upon authentic testimony and rejecting baseless traditions".

Men had, no doubt, long valued truth, as they understood it; but there is a fundamental difference between the unreflective conscience which instinctively feels the baseness of intentional falsehood, and the scientific conscience which values truth *in and for itself,* and aims to establish it in a scientific manner. It is the valuation of truth simply because it is truth that underlies and vitalizes all our modern science and has compelled us to reconstruct our entire conception of the universe and of our human past.

II.

What, then, is the part of the historian in the enterprise of establishing the truth? To answer that question we must first inquire, What is the essential character of the materials with which the historian has to deal? Every adept in historiography knows how dim and vague were the notions of the early chroniclers, apart from all conscious deception, regarding the precise lines of division between the *actual,* the *probable* and the *possible*; and how easily, without intention, they glide from one to another of these categories in their efforts to construct *une belle histoire*! All contemporary historians are of course agreed that these categories should not be confused; but the task of truth-telling is embarrassed not only by the temptation to fill a lacuna in the records with a well-meaning act of imagination based on probability or possibility, but also by the unconscious pressure of the historian's personal system of ideas derived from the *Weltanschauung* of the time in which he lives or of the school of thought in which he has been trained.

The development of historiography reveals the manner in which

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the ruling philosophy or the *Zeitgeist* of each age has permeated and colored the conception of the historic process. "Der Sinn für die Wirklichkeit" is no doubt always present in the mind of the historian; and it is not doubtful that, as Wilhelm von Humboldt described it, "Die Aufgabe des Geschichtsschreibens ist die Darstellung des Geschehenen"; but the idealist and the materialist, the mystic and the rationalist, will always, and almost inevitably, though quite unconsciously, permit his own peculiar apprehension of the ultimate nature of reality to affect the choice and interpretation of the data he employs and the whole character of the edifice he constructs.

There is, however, so much the greater necessity for exactly comprehending the essential nature of historic truth and distinguishing it as far as possible from the great body of conceptions which constitute the philosophical *Weltanschauung* of the age in which we live; for, while the various sciences often throw light upon one another, and our cosmic conception, as a whole, may receive valuable contributions from them all, each of them may likewise suffer injury by an unwarranted importation into them of principles borrowed from other sciences which possess a different character.

It is, therefore, worth while to bear in mind that there are two aspects of reality which have to be treated in quite different ways. It is a postulate of modern science that there exists in the universe a fixed amount of energy, never increased or diminished, and all phenomena are believed to be manifestations of this primordial energy. Some of these phenomena appear in an order of coexistence in space, others in an order of succession in time; and it is with these transformations in time that history has to deal. But there is another aspect of phenomena not less important for history than transformation in time. The resemblances and differences of phenomena are both quantitative and qualitative. It is with the latter chiefly that history has to deal; for, while the quantity of coexistent energy always remains the same, the qualitative differences among phenomena appear to be always increasing in variety and complexity in the order of succession.

If, for illustration, we pass from physico-chemical to biological phenomena, and from these to psychological phenomena, in the progressive order of natural evolution, we notice that, while the quantity of energy is supposed to remain the same, there is an ever-increasing variation of qualitative differences, until in the ascending scale of organisms we arrive at man, who, standing at the head of the biological series, possesses a greater diversity and com-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

plexity of qualitative distinctions than any other being known to science.

It is worthy of attention also that, in measuring and comparing phenomena, there are two different methods of procedure which correspond to the difference of quantity and quality. In the case of quantity, whether of a number of units or of magnitudes, the instrument of comparison is mathematics. Given a numerical or geometrical standard, all quantities of the same kind, or related to the same standard, can be mathematically compared. It is worthy of observation that the mathematical method finds its largest and surest application where the differences of quality are the fewest, and it becomes less and less fruitful as these differences increase in number. Thus, for example, the simple motions of the heavenly bodies are uniformly subject to exact mathematical calculation and predetermination, while the precise movements of an animal are less, and the complex conduct of a man least of all, capable of mathematical measurement and prediction.

As we rise in the scale of qualitative development from the chemical compound to the plant, from the plant to the animal, and from the animal governed by instinct to man governed by reason, we find mathematics less and less sufficient as an organ of investigation. While in the realms of color, temperature and other secondary physical properties quantity may furnish a key to the explanation of quality, we find ourselves at last in a sphere of being where quality is the matter of supreme interest, and where the mathematical method ceases to apply. The social life of man, the progress of civilization, the formation and development of political institutions, the rise and fall of empires, the relations between independent states—all these transformations belong to the sphere of qualitative change, defy mathematical calculation and demand a new instrument of comparison and comprehension.

III.

It is precisely this new and higher sphere of human activity which is, by common consent, *par excellence* the field of history. The study of the successful transformations of quality may, however, go far back of this; and it is the appreciation of qualitative changes in the pre-human world that has illuminated the realms of astronomy and biology with the great principle of natural evolution. The point I wish here to establish is, however, the scientific necessity of qualitative as distinguished from quantitative measurement in estimating the phenomena of human life, which are the phenomena

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of human history. One side of human science is built up with answers to the question, "*How much?*". There is another side, equally important to science in its totality, and far more rich in human interest, which depends upon the answers to the question, "*Of what kind?*" and this is the historical as distinguished from the mathematical aspect of science.

As mathematics answers the questions of the first series, so history answers those of the second. It deals with transformations of a qualitative character, while mathematics deals with quantitative relations. To make clear the difference, let us note the contrast between the mathematical and the historical methods. The former aim to discover the uniformities that exist in space and time; that is, to reach the largest attainable generalizations of the laws of invariable action. The aim of history is exactly the opposite. It does not seek for the law of recurrence, or any element of uniformity in either space or time; but to ascertain what particular changes have taken place in a definite time, with a view of estimating their relations as a series of acts, or of appreciating their value and significance as manifestations of the qualitative aspect of the universe. While mathematical science measures phenomena with reference to their quantity in terms of space or time, historical science measures them according to their value as elements of success or failure in the accomplishment of certain results as expressed in terms of human sensibility and rational worth; that is, according as they are beneficial or injurious, prudent or imprudent, ennobling or degrading, civilizing or barbarizing, commendable or reprehensible. In brief, while the sciences based on mathematics aim at the most universal generalizations of what happens in space and time in order to discover general laws, the historical sciences aim at a knowledge of the serial development of phenomena in a definite time and a definite place, showing the order in which they occurred, the conditions out of which they arose, the influence exercised by them and the consequent value of these phenomena, not in terms of number and magnitude, but as manifestations of reality ranked as inferior or superior in the scale of human utility or appreciation.

How fruitful the historical method may be, joined with the mathematical, in the study of nature is proved by the results that have followed from its application. Our whole conception of the universe has been changed by it under the influence of Laplace, Lamarck, Darwin and their successors. Instead of a rigid, static order of things, we now conceive of the universe as undergoing constant transformation; and it is in these processes of change that its

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

real nature is revealed. Even the elements of matter are now understood to have had their history, and it is in the course of their evolution from stardust to living organisms that their inherent potencies, which escape mathematical analysis, are brought to light.

IV.

There is one characteristic of human history, however, which separates it entirely from the history of nature, namely, the fact that a portion of it—or at least a specimen of its process—occurs in the individual consciousness, and can be examined from the point of view of man as a voluntary being, acting for definite purposes. I do not wish at this time to enter into the lively controversy carried on in recent years regarding the nature of historic causation, which is essentially a question of philosophy upon which opinions are still divided; and I here express no preference for one or another of the opposing theories that find the chief factor of historic change to be physical or psychical, individual or social, intellectual or moral. What I wish to insist upon is that, whether man be a really creative agent or merely a conscious mechanism put in motion by heredity and environment, whether he be impelled to action by blind and irresistible impulses or guided by intellectual enlightenment, the substance with which the history of man is concerned is *personal conduct,* and the *reaction of conduct upon human development.*

I do not doubt that the historical process may be governed by general laws, and it may be that all qualitative differences in human experience may be—or might be if our knowledge were sufficiently extended—reduced to purely quantitative elements, and the whole course of development explained upon a mathematical basis. What, on the other hand, seems to me most evident is, that history has no contribution to make to this enterprise, which, if it is ever to be rendered successful, must be accomplished by some other branch of science. Since history is the record of particular occurrences, no one of which has the property of universal necessity, and since —unlike the phenomena of nature—the phenomena of human history can never be exactly repeated, they contain no data that warrant absolute generalizations; and, therefore, disclose no necessary laws of action. As Treitschke has well said: "Wäre die Geschichte eine exakte Wissenschaft, so müssten wir im Stande sein, die Zukunft der Staaten zu enthüllen. Das können wir aber nicht, denn überall stösst die Geschichtswissenschaft auf das Rätsel der Persönlichkeit. Personen, Männer, sind es, welche die Geschichte machen."

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

If there is any proposition upon which all schools of thought are agreed, it is that persons are the agents of historical movements. Each person, even the greatest, may be but a molecule in the moving mass of humanity; and social directions and velocities may be determined by physical conditions, but they operate always and everywhere through beings who are more or less dimly conscious of whither and why they are moving. Nothing could be a better proof of this than the fact that in every great historical movement there is a conscious effort to rescue something, so to speak, from time, and to give it permanent endurance. Every monument, every inscription, every chronicle designed to commemorate a part played by a man or a nation in its impress upon a period bears witness to this human impulse. All the records of the past are the fruits of it. There seems to be in the current of the historic process something that rises above it and is not part of it, which judges, measures and estimates that which is fugitive and that which is permanent in it. There is in every generation of men a disposition to see in events some increase of good or some access of evil, some lesson for the enrichment of experience or some caution for the future. It is this effort to profit by the changes men are able to effect and to render permanent their achievements that has led to the making and preservation of historical documents, and it is this that inspires the historian to endure the labor and sacrifice of research.

Seen from within, the historic process opens new vistas to the historian. What is the signification of this ceaseless struggle with the evanescent and this endeavor to lift the contents of time to a position of permanent security? Does it not imply in the human agent a sense of continuity through which he realizes his part in the general development of man, and his duty as a member of the human race? It is in the great crises of history that its true nature is made apparent. Only those who have lived through them and have had some part in them possess in its full sense the meaning of the historic process; for it is only as a part of it that the individual, in moments of victory or defeat, in the march of triumph or fainting on the field of battle, knows that the social unit counts for most when he is part of some great movement in which humanity moves on from one to another stadium in the realization of its destiny.

V.

If history is ever to throw any light upon the riddle of personality, beyond that which biology and psychology afford, it can be done in no other way than by bravely pursuing its own method

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of recording the acts of men as they have actually occurred, and not by elaborating theories of causation. The temptation is strong to regard history as belonging in the same class with the inductive and nomological sciences, and to apply to it methods which pertain to them. Only thus, it has sometimes been represented, can history be shown to possess a scientific character. But this inference results from a failure to recognize the fact that, as we have shown, the sciences of quantity and the sciences of quality, though fundamentally different in conception and procedure, are co-ordinate in dignity and importance for mankind.

There is, it is true, no science where there are neither measurements nor relations upon which measurements can be based. For this reason it may be contended that no form of human knowledge is really scientific, unless it is based upon mathematics and can be expressed in exact and universal formulas. While it is undeniable that science of necessity requires measurement and comparison, it is an error to suppose that mathematical measurement and comparison are the only forms of human estimate or that scientific knowledge may not be based as firmly upon differences as upon resemblances and uniformities. While the observer of physical phenomena measures them upon a scale expressed in quantitative units, the observer of historical phenomena measures them upon a scale expressed in qualitative differences. The essential basis of science is variation of experience, which may be capable of expression in either of two ways: the mathematical, which measures it in terms of quantitative value; or the ethical, which measures it in terms of qualitative value.

I have used the term "ethical" in contrast to "mathematical", because I understand by "ethics" the science of value in human conduct, and employ the adjective derived from it for want of a better term. Whatever criticism may be passed upon the expression, the distinction it is intended to represent is indisputable. There exist beyond question these two forms of value: that which is measurable in terms of duration and magnitude, and that which is measurable in terms of sensibility and utility. If, indeed, we undertake for a moment to compare them, we at once remark that quantitative or mathematical standards are in reality mere abstract units derived from the analysis of space and time; while qualitative or ethical standards, in the broad meaning here intended, represent those distinctions which affect our sensibilities or human purposes, and are, therefore, the measures of the most essential elements of our human experience.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

If I am correct in this analysis, it is no derogation of the rank and position of history in the hierarchy of knowledge to say that it is an ethical rather than a mathematical science. And if this is so, then it is evident that the function of the historian in dealing with historical material is an ethical function; not simply because it is his duty, in common with all other men of science, to discover and to state the truth with a high sense of his responsibility to mankind, but because the whole substance of history is of an ethical nature. It is the work of the historian to trace the upward or downward curve of man's development as displayed in the various forms of human conduct, such as art, industry, thought, literature and politics; and, if possible, to bring to light by following the successive transformations that have affected that development the forces and conditions that have in fact produced it, and the effect of particular instances of conduct upon it.

In using the expression "ethical function", I do not mean that the historian is to set himself up as a moral judge, and to pass mere private judgments upon historical events. What I mean to affirm is, that the purpose and use of history are found in the truthful record and just estimate of human conduct, which is the outward expression of the real nature of man as a being capable of varying degrees of success or failure in realizing the ends of rational activity. It is with this success or failure that history has to deal, and it is these that the historian is especially called upon to appreciate. To illustrate my meaning, the interest of history does not lie in the fact that so many painters and sculptors lived in a certain period of time and produced so many works, but in the quality of the pictures and statues they created; not in the fact that so many soldiers fought in so many battles and succeeded in killing so many of their number, but in the social purpose for which they fought and the effect of their victory upon human happiness; not in the fact that so many rulers bearing such and such names reigned during so many dynasties, but in the arts they promoted, the legislation that was enacted and the growth of civilization under their rule.

The necessity of this ethical function on the part of the historian grows directly out of the nature of the historic process. Although the life of mankind in its totality may be, and in some sense is, dependent upon the natural energies that underlie human existence, there is in every individual a sense of relation to the past and to the future; that is, a historic consciousness, that distinguishes man from his fellow-creatures of the organic world. And this historic con-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

sciousness not only includes a certain sense of indebtedness for the labors and solicitude of the past, but there is, perhaps, no human individual, certainly no typical individual, who does not feel that the forces acting in and through him, whatsoever they are, have ends that ought to be accomplished. And this sense of what ought to be, as distinguished from what is, whether heeded or neglected in practice, is universally recognized as furnishing a standard for the judgment of conduct as good or bad, useful or useless, wise or unwise, noble or ignoble. Further than this, the character of a social community, or of a phase or a period in its development, is determined, and takes its place in the scale of civilization, in accordance with the degree of success or failure in conforming to the norms or standards of conduct as existing in the consciousness of the time.

There is, therefore, in the nature of man a scale of values by which progress or decadence in art, industry, economy, politics, literature and philosophy may be estimated. Alongside the problems of explanation, for the solution of which we appeal to the abstract sciences, are problems of attainment, for whose solution we appeal to history. In the complex of active forces by which we are surrounded there is also a hierarchy of motives by which men are actuated. Whether these motives are absolute or relative, whether the ends at which we aim are attainable or unattainable, does not in any way alter the fact that we are conscious agents in the historic process, as well as observers of its development. Not to feel its inspiration is utterly to miss its meaning, for the true essence of history lies far more in the will to attain than in the power to explain.

For this reason, namely, that the chief factor of the historic process is the will rather than the intellect, the prediction of the future is impossible. Every great historic movement is a struggle in which contending forces are opposed. Every individual in the social mass in every age is aiming at the realization of his desires. What the net result will be in any particular time and place is difficult to estimate. The mathematical method upon which the physical sciences are based fails us utterly; for in this calculation all the units are different, and all are liable to sudden changes of value. When therefore we apply a systematic, or a strictly genetic, method to a period of history, we are employing a false assumption; for arts, nations and institutions do not grow like plants, they develop by a series of explosions.

The one constant factor in the historic process is human nature,

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

which is sometimes governed by reason, but generally moved by impulse. The business of the historian therefore is not to make history seem reasonable by placing upon it a scientific stamp foreign to its nature; but to display the motives that have determined the historic process as it has in reality been unfolded. If he is thus faithful in his exposition of motive and result, his work will have a far greater scientific value than if he imports into it principles and methods borrowed from other sciences dealing with materials of a different nature, or products of purely intellectual abstraction; for the effect of this importation is to impart to history an appearance of reasonableness that it does not in reality possess.

The most powerful temptation that assails the historian, and the one most fatal to the truly scientific character of his work—that is, the one which is likely to introduce into it the largest element of unreality—is the desire to make the historic process seem systematic, orderly and logical. This temptation is especially strong in the treatment of national history, for the reason that a writer is predisposed to see in it the realization of predetermined national ideals through the development of special national qualities. But, in reality, was there ever a historic nation that was not more or less composite in its origin, or that was permitted to develop logically and normally its own inner life? Does not history, truthfully written, show that the life of every people has been perturbed and its normal development perverted or arrested, if not by its own exploits and adventures, by the rivalry, the ambitions, or the hostility of its neighbors? Have not the policies of nearly every nation been deeply influenced, and sometimes almost wholly determined, by the general political system of which it has formed a part? It is not perhaps unfitting, therefore, to point out in an international congress of historians how much the truth of history is liable to suffer from regarding the historic process from a purely national point of view. In reality, nothing can be more deceptive. Are not art, trade, industry, education, literature and even the forms of government profoundly affected by the contact and influence of other nations? Why, then, from a scientific point of view should historians be reproached, as they sometimes have been, for busying themselves with international treaties and conventions? Are not these conventions, whether enforced by arms or entered into voluntarily, the most vital expressions of international development? And what more distinctly marks the progress of civilization than the mutual obligations which sovereign states are disposed to assume in their relations with one another?

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

I do not mean to disparage the pragmatic world, but until the historic process is entirely governed by fixed and definite principles of conduct, how can history be scientifically written upon the assumption that it is the product of universal forces acting under universal laws? Thus, from every point of view, it is evident that the function of the historian is not to deal with uniformities or with universal formulas, but with the variations of human conduct as measured by its success and its failure upon the scale of rational endeavor; for history is nothing more nor less than the record of man's efforts to solve the problems with which he is confronted by his nature and his environment.

It is good for mankind to realize that, although living in a universe governed by law, as a result of its freedom it has sometimes gone wrong; and that, without a loyal adherence to great principles, it may go wrong again. The best antidote to this eventuality is a true science of the past. But, whether it be for good or for evil, as men of science, dealing with the largest and most instructive aspect of human development, historians are bound by that scientific conscience which is the test, the badge and the glory of their profession to unveil reality and give meaning to the words, "Die Weltgeschichte ist das Weltgericht."

DAVID J. HILL.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

SAN GALGANO: A CISTERCIAN ABBEY OF THE MIDDLE AGES

For every student of monasticism the moment will come when, weary of following the general movement through its complicated stages of growth and power, he will turn into the bypaths of his subject in order to establish an immediate contact with the human lives which fed the orders with their boundless hopes and energies. Arrived at this point of view, he will do well to concentrate his attention on the origin and development of some typical foundation. By mastering its surviving records he may succeed not only in peopling the deserted dormitory and weed-choked garden with some semblance of forgotten life, but also in throwing a not unwelcome light on the whole movement of which the single monastery was a vital link. In the hope of bringing the perhaps greatest moral force of the twelfth century, the Cistercian reform, within the range of our common understanding, I venture to present in the following pages the story of an Italian offshoot of the famous French order, the story of the abbey of San Galgano.

In the rolling country of southern Tuscany, where the Merse River begins its winding course, lies the little town of Chiusdino, crowning a hill, which is remarkable, like almost all the domiciles of medieval men, by reason of its wide survey and splendid inaccessibility. In the twelfth century, when our story begins, Chiusdino with the neighboring hills and valleys belonged to the diocese of the bishop of Volterra, who, under the added title of count of the empire, exercised also civil authority in this region. Here, shortly after the year 1180, tidings of strange and miraculous import began to pass from mouth to mouth. The simple peasant-folk told one another as they sat before their doors at eventide or paced the road together to the neighboring market that a knight, Galgano by name and a citizen of Chiusdino, forswearing the delights of the flesh, had abandoned family and friends, that he had gone to dwell as an anchorite in the forest solitudes around his home, and that when, after a year of unexampled hardships, he had died and been buried, immediately, in sign of the favor which he enjoyed with the Lord, wonderful cures began to be effected at his tomb. Presently a pious stream of pilgrimage began to flow toward Monte Siepi, as the wooded hill was called which was the scene of the good man's rigor-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ous self-discipline, as well as the place of his burial.[1] This spontaneous veneration, which has numerous counterparts throughout Europe and brings home to us the passionate attachment of medieval folk to all the material manifestations of holiness, not only met with no opposition on the part of the church, but shortly received the highest possible endorsement through an act of the pope—probably of the year 1185—elevating the Chiusdino knight and hermit to the ranks of the saints. Naturally the reputation of the newly canonized Galgano was sedulously nursed by the leading dignitary of the region, the bishop of Volterra, who, beginning with the erection of a simple shrine over the grave of his late subject, gradually formed the ambitious plan of making the new cult serve as the basis for a great monastic foundation. He communicated with the Cistercian brothers, whose reputation and influence were just then spreading in steadily widening circles over central Europe, with the result that a few monks, apparently Frenchmen hailing from the home of Saint Bernard, from Clairvaux itself, settled in the unpeopled solitudes of Monte Siepi. Thus the first step was taken in the creation of the abbey of San Galgano.

A *cartularium,* preserved in the archives of Florence and containing the privileges conceded to the new foundation by temporal and spiritual rulers, supplemented by abundant material to be found in the Archivio di Stato of Siena, makes it possible to develop an accurate picture of the growth of the settlement on Monte Siepi.[2] The oldest existing document is of the year 1191; it was issued from the chancellery of Emperor Henry VI., and declared that the sovereign, probably at the instigation of Hildebrand, bishop of Volterra, who signed as a witness, took the monks of San Galgano hailing from Clairvaux under his high protection. He added the gift of a field *juxta abbatiam* and solemnly warned all neighbors not to "violate our munificence with temerarious audacity".[3] The imperial shelter, good so far as it went, needed to be supplemented by the much more valuable, because more constant, protection of the local lord. That was the bishop of Volterra, who as inaugurator of the settlement was not likely to withold a liberal support. Accordingly, in the year 1201, Bishop Hildebrand, recapitulating, we are led to surmise, a number of earlier grants, issued a comprehensive privi-

[1] On the story of San Galgano, see Rondoni, *Tradizioni Popolari e Leggende di un Comune Medioevale,* p. 110 ff.

[2] The Sienese material is in three large folio volumes, called *caleffi,* and consists of about 2250 documents. This material, together with the *cartularium* at Florence, has been consulted and in part published by Canestrelli in his excellent *L'Abbazia di San Galgano,* to which I am deeply indebted.

[3] Canestrelli, *Documento* V.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

lege, in which, after enumerating a long list of fields and forests made over by him to a certain Bono and a band of monks, he not only took the brothers under his protection, but promised them complete liberty in their internal affairs together with freedom from taxation.[4] Evidently the foundation, favored and enriched by the bishop, assured of a friendly interest by the emperor, was advancing rapidly. To complete its legal safeguarding nothing was lacking according to medieval ideas except the word of the pope. It was not till the year 1206, fifteen years after the emperor had spoken in the matter and five years after the deed of Bishop Hildebrand, that Pope Innocent III. issued a bull declaring his good will toward the enterprise in the remote hills of the upper Merse. Under Innocent III., it will be remembered, the pretentions of the papacy to universal rule were stretched to the utmost. The increase of monasteries, representing each one the lighting of a new hearth of religious and, more particularly, of papal influence, must have been deeply to his liking. When he spoke, therefore, though he spoke tardily, he poured out for the monks of San Galgano a veritable cornucopia of bounties. In the first place, the head of the monastery—apparently Bono, the earliest leader of the Cistercian enterprise of whom there is record, had by this time passed away—was no longer designated as priest, or prior, or by some other title indicative of small beginnings, but as abbot, the dignity reserved for the chief official of a perfected and influential organization. Proceeding, Innocent confirmed all the possessions of the monks; reiterated their freedom from taxation and immunity from sentences pronounced in the courts of a bishop or any lay lord whatsoever; and proclaimed their right to elect their own abbot and to govern themselves, practically as a sovereign body.[5] The new monastic venture, dedicated to the high task of spreading civilization through the sparsely settled wilds of the upper Merse, was now as secure as the formal authorities of feudal society could make it.

However, no amount of official sanction could contribute greatly to the development of a monastery, if the institution did not perform effective service in the society in which it was situated, or if it failed to enlist the sympathies and support of all classes of the population. Only if these conditions were satisfied could San Galgano hope to arouse the pride and become identified with the patriotism of the neighborhood, thus winning recruits for its ranks and stimulating the stream of private contributions necessary for

[4] Canestrelli, *Documento* II.
[5] *Ibid.*, *Documento* XII.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the realization of its Christian programme. Following the Cistercian ideal this programme consisted not only in the creation of a retreat for holy men, but also in genuine pioneer labors, such as the clearing of forests and the bringing of unbroken land under the plough. In all these respects the success of our monastery in the first flush of its hopeful youth was conspicuous. The sons of the neighborhood came in such numbers to knock for admission at the portals of the house of peace that whatever slight French character the personnel of the first group of monks may have had was presently lost to make room for a genuine Tuscan foundation. Admitted within the walls the fugitives from a world of empty honors were, after due probation, apportioned to one of two classes: either they became spiritual brothers, who, as priests, served the mass and attended to the duties pertaining to religion, or they joined the *conversi* or lay brothers who tilled the fields and performed the various kinds of manual labor required in connection with the operation of a busy farmstead.

In a society where men gladly give their lives to a cause conceived as worthy, they hesitate even less in offering of their plenty. Gifts of land, bounties of all kinds, of which the record still exists, were showered upon the abbey. While these benefactions testify to the profound conviction of the Middle Ages regarding the usefulness of an institution which no longer awakens our enthusiasm, their form betrays the peculiar and, to our taste, somewhat unctuous piety of the period. According to medieval theology a gift to the church was a good work, especially remarked by God and sure to be taken into account on the day of reckoning. For this reason the clergy could, with perfectly good conscience moreover, stimulate the charitable instincts of the laity. Something of this desire to acquire credit with the Lord, palliated by a child-like candor, reaches us from the old deeds of hand. In the year 1196, for instance, Matilda, described as daughter of the departed Ugolinus and derelict of Guidaldonius, and the first private donor of whom there is record, presents the monks with a farmland, because "whoever shall contribute to sacred and venerable places shall receive a hundred-fold and have eternal life": on which exordium she adds, with simple-hearted readiness to lay bare every fold of her heart, that she hopes by means of her gift to save her soul and that of her relatives, doubtless the departed Ugolinus and Guidaldonius aforesaid.[6] Many bequests came to the brothers from neighboring Siena and her prosperous merchants. We hear of one commer-

[6] Canestrelli, *Documento* I.

LIBRARY
COAST ARTILLERY
SCHOOL

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

cial citizen, a certain Andrea di Giacomo, who left as much as a thousand lire (*librae*), a very considerable sum, for the purchase of a farm with the direction that the product thereof be distributed among the poor. If this is charity at all times and the world over, Andrea clearly sounds the note of his age when he adds a bequest of eight hundred lire for the purchase of a second farm to be given to the monks on the condition that they daily recite a mass for the repose of his soul.[7] Let one more example suffice to depict both the gifts and the givers. In the year 1287, a citizen of Massa, after leaving twelve hundred lire to San Galgano, adds a gift of four hundred lire "for the construction of an altar in the said church in honor of the blessed Virgin Mary and the saints James, Christopher, and Nicholas, near which altar let my name be written in *patentibus licteris* (in large letters!), in order that all the priests who celebrate mass at that altar may be reminded to pray for my soul and to make mention of my name in the service".[8] Although a charity, associated with such intense spiritual profit-seeking, may kindle an amused smile upon our lips, it furnishes no occasion to treat it with contempt. When all is said the fact remains that the habit of giving of one's substance for an unselfish end was widespread, and that it testifies to the success with which the church infused the spirit of idealism into a dull and brutalized society.

We have seen that Bono and his small Cistercian band made their home near the grave of San Galgano on Monte Siepi. They built there the circular chapel which still stands, and added a dormitory and other quarters, parts of which survive in the two wings leaning upon the chapel like awkward buttresses. Presently the donations of which we have taken note began to pour in, and the brothers saw an opportunity for enlarging the circle of their activity. Dissatisfied with their narrow and primitive quarters on Monte Siepi, they resolved to descend from their wooded spur to the broad meadow immediately at its foot, and to commence a second structure on a scale which more adequately represented the accumulated means and golden prospects of the monastery. The information as to this removal afforded by the documents is unfortunately slight, but, piecing together various items, we arrive at the conclusion that the new edifices were begun about the year 1224,[9] while still existing walls and lines of masonry enable us to affirm that they included, besides the great abbey church, a dormitory, a cloister, a refectory, barns, stables, and all the various offices of a corporation which,

[7] Canestrelli, p. 72. The bequest is of the year 1274.

[8] *Ibid.*, p. 73.

[9] *Ibid.*, pp. 69–75.

LIBRARY
COAST ARTILLERY
SCHOOL

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

if primarily a religious retreat, had also something of the character of a library, a school and a great agricultural establishment. By accidents and changes, to which I shall return in due time, most of the accessory structures have been swept away, but the great abbey church still stands, desolate and in ruins, it is true, but touched with such enduring beauty that it may be called without hesitation one of the most exquisite churches of Tuscany and even of all Italy. Built in slow stages, as suited the gradually accumulating means of the brothers, it was probably not finished till the end of the century which saw the laying of the corner-stone. In the place of ascertained facts, enabling us to compose a secure narrative of the construction of the famous church, we must content ourselves with conjecture, and conjecture, too, is the only answer to our eager question concerning the names of the great artists who drew the plans for it. Without doubt they were Cistercian monks, for the Cistercians, apart from their jealous desire to keep their buildings in their own hands, were recognized as the architectural leaders and innovators of their day. However, when we appeal to the documents for the names of the individual monks who distinguished themselves in this great enterprise, we are denied an answer, and must content ourselves with the general conclusion that the order built the abbey church of San Galgano. Considering the nature of the order, and remembering that men entered it to lose their personality in the hope of finding it again in the Lord, we can hardly quarrel with the accident which produced a result so fully in accord with the profound spirit of the institution.[10]

On one very fascinating matter included in the dark chapter of construction and involving the much-mooted question of the style of the great abbey church, it is possible to speak with precision, for the building being still in existence, at least as regards its structural lines, furnishes all the material necessary for an intelligent opinion. No student of art standing before these remains will fail to be struck with the fact that here is an edifice of such pure Gothic as is not to be found again in all Tuscany. Indeed these lithe and graceful forms would not be held to be out of place if one came upon them suddenly on a tour through northern France. Were the architects, whom we have agreed to be Cistercians, also Frenchmen, imported when the resolution was first taken to begin the edifice? The general plan, as well as the grouped piers and the ribbed vaults, point to that conclusion, although Canestrelli, patriotically

[10] Canestrelli, pp. 77–78, names some of the builders (*operai*), who not improbably figured also in the capacity of architects.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

eager to vindicate the monument for his own people, affirms with some show of proof that Italian architects were quite capable of this quality of work. That Italian influences are perceptible here and there is undeniable, but the structural skeleton with its harmonious system of concentrated strains and balanced thrusts is so emphatically French that we are forced to conclude that, if men of French blood did not build this church, the Italian monks, entrusted with the work, must have received their architectural training in France, if not directly by residence in the Burgundian houses of their order, at least indirectly through the agency of the traditions accumulated in the earlier Cistercian foundations in Italy, such as Fossanova and Casamari.

During the thirteenth century, while the monks were engaged upon the reconstruction of the abbey on a monumental scale, they remained a vigorous and growing organization. It is an old observation that an ideal, devotedly pursued, almost magically creates the energies necessary for its fulfillment. The thirteenth century, therefore, constitutes the abbey's heyday, marked not only by the loud and steady ring of hammer and chisel, which came across the meadow of the Merse and sounded through the encircling woods, but also by the quality of the converts attracted by the cloistered life. Nothing is more erroneous than the common notion that it was the broken and unfit, the sad company of life's derelict, who were drawn to the medieval monasteries. Undeniably this defeated section of society might be found in large numbers in a given institution in the period of its decay, but in its flourishing time, which was of course the time of youth, its programme, universal enough to reach the operative as well as the reflective temperament, laid a spell upon the best minds of the day. Turn as one will, there is no way of accounting for the part played by the monasteries in medieval civilization, save on the ground that their ranks constituted a representative expression of the intelligence and energy of society. San Galgano bears out this assertion at every point. We have already seen that when the monks undertook to build themselves an abbey, which still, though in ruins, communicates the most delicate spirit of beauty, they did not have to go for help outside their own cowled brotherhood. By the side of the architects, and wearing like them the yoke of monastic obedience, were to be found trained lawyers and notaries. With its varied business the monastery could turn them to good use and was at pains to assemble for their behoof a considerable law library.[11] Physicians and surgeons, who in their

[11] Canestrelli, *Documento* XVIII.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

youth had trudged on foot to the schools of Salerno and Montpellier, paced the quiet garden walks with ordained priests, expert in the lore of Saint Thomas Aquinas and the Schoolmen. With such elements represented in the remote community, we can hardly go wrong in assuming that its intellectual level rose far beyond that of contemporary lay society. How else shall we account for the fact that the neighboring city of Siena frequently requested the aid of the monastery in purely civic affairs? With the commune's growth the office of treasurer acquired an increasing importance, and when the citizens wanted a thoroughly capable and reliable man to put in charge of their moneys, whither did they turn but to the abbot of San Galgano? They asked for the loan of one of the monks, for the first time, it would seem, in the year 1257, and were so satisfied with the service they received that they kept up the practice for almost a hundred years.[12] Then they resorted to a layman, indicating in plain terms that it was not until the democratic government had been established for some generations that the average citizen acquired those moral and mental qualities which put him on a level with the monks. A quaint memorial of these comptroller-monks, called *camarlinghi di Biccherna,* is carefully preserved in the archives of Siena. On certain of the painted covers of the account-books which they kept in their time will be found the solemn countenance of a cowled brother, who thus still seems to guard from his grave the treasure entrusted to his care while living. Nor was the treasurership the only office by means of which Siena paid tribute to the high character of the Galgano fraternity. In the thirteenth century the chief public enterprise in which she was engaged was her cathedral, for great buildings both for civil and ecclesiastical uses were one of the passions of the age. Encouraged probably by the splendid success with which the monks were raising their own abbey, the municipality entrusted the erection of the *duomo* to their tried and skilful hands. Through the second half of the thirteenth century Fra Vernaccio, Fra Melano, Fra Villa and other brothers—empty, featureless names furnished by the stolid records—were at the head of the works, and during their incumbency the magnificent pile was, in all essential respects, given the form which still meets the eye.[13]

Such services rendered by San Galgano to the commune of Siena indicate that the shuttle was flying back and forth, weav-

[12] Canestrelli, *Documento* XX., gives a list of the Sienese *camarlinghi* supplied by San Galgano.

[13] *Ibid., Documento* XXI., gives the full list of monks who served as *operai* in connection with the Sienese cathedral.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ing a mutually profitable intimacy between the abbey and the city. In view of the general political situation of Tuscany in the thirteenth century this development was inevitable. The monks were men of peace; their object in the world, the works of peace. We have seen that in settling on the upper Merse they needed and had sought the protection of the established powers, the pope, the emperor and the bishop of Volterra. But with the death in the year 1250 of Frederick II., the last great Hohenstaufen, the empire, long threatened with decay, was definitely reduced to impotence, and though the pope tried to seize his rival's heritage, he failed, in Tuscany at least, because the cities of that province were resolute to appropriate for themselves whatever benefits resulted from the decay of the federal power. The bishop of Volterra, indeed, continued to play the part of a local sovereign, theoretically of considerable sway, but his glory waned as soon as he ceased to draw light and power from his feudal master. Thus Siena came to dominate in southern Tuscany over a region which included the Merse valley and therewith the abbey of San Galgano. Abbey and city did not fail to see the mutual advantage of a close political alliance. Siena, and Siena alone, could in the changed political circumstances of Italy offer to the abbey an adequate guarantee against violence and spoliation, and the abbey would give to the city an increased security on its southern frontier, in addition to conferring on it the honor which in a religious age attached to the patronage of a great ecclesiastical establishment.

Thus, under the pressure of time and change, San Galgano replaced the patronage of its earliest protectors with that of the neighboring commune. That great treasury of fact, the Sienese constitution of 1262, proclaims the relation in terms indicative of the large confidence of the young commonwealth. On entering upon his office the *potestà* of Siena was obliged to swear that he would diligently watch over the monastery of San Galgano and all its possessions, and, continuing, he was made to say that "at the demand of my lord abbot I shall give notice by messenger and letter to the lords and people of the region near which the possessions of the abbey are situated, that the said abbey and its goods are under the protection of the commune of Siena; and I shall extend the affectionate request to them that they inflict no injury upon it or any of its goods, seeing that we of Siena are held to aid the monks and to defend them from wrong as if they were our fellow-citizens."[14] And this promise of protection was anything but hollow. The lords

[14] Zdekauer, *Il Constituto di Siena di 1262*, I. 103.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of the neighborhood, as well as such small but often violent communities as Chiusdino and Grosseto, wisely kept their hands off the abbot's possessions, and the abbey continued to flourish till the arrival of its evil day.

The thirteenth century, I have already said, was the prosperous period of the Cistercian order in Italy and, particularly, of its offspring near the grave of San Galgano. Then gradually signs of decay appeared. The phenomenon has its parallel in the story of every spiritual institution evolved by the children of men. The monks, raised by wealth above the necessity of effort, became estranged from their own ideals and gave themselves to idleness and vice. Just as the Cistercians themselves originated in a protest against the decay of the older Benedictines, so another revolt, ripening with the action of time, was certain to direct itself against Cistercian self-satisfaction, and to gather the most promising and candid spirits of the age in new affiliations. This is the meaning of the rise of the begging friars. The noble orders founded by Saint Francis and Saint Dominic did not at once affect San Galgano, owing to the great and merited prestige which it enjoyed in its immediate neighborhood. But slowly, if imperceptibly, they exercised a disturbing influence on what we may call the recruiting market of our monastery, for, in entering the field to bid against the older institutions, they exercised an irresistible attraction upon all the more strenuous spirits by virtue of their youthfulness and fire. Early in the fourteenth century, about the time when the new abbey in the meadow under Monte Siepi celebrated its first centenary, one catches signs suggesting that its moral tone has suffered. For one thing Siena ceased to look to it for architects and *camarlinghi*. That may have been, as I have already hinted, because lay society had at last advanced to the point where it could trust itself for these services, but, on the other hand, the suspicion cannot be dismissed that the services could no longer be rendered. In any case the usefulness of the institution decreased, and with the usefulness the efficiency of the residents. An ominous silence gathered around San Galgano, the silence descending upon a society which has outlived its time, and when it is broken by confused sounds of war and panic, drawing our attention once more to the upper Merse, we are brought face to face with disaster.

In the second half of the fourteenth century Italy was visited by one of the most abominable social plagues with which the much tormented peninsula was vexed during the long agony of feudalism. It consisted in the so-called Companies of Adventure. Since the

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

central authority, still nominally represented by the emperor across the Alps, was destroyed, and ambitious local powers, lords and cities, quarreled fiercely for dominion, a chaotic condition was created, marked by almost uninterrupted petty warfare and furnishing lucrative employment for large bands of mercenary soldiers. The leaders of these bands were not slow to see that with the decay of the various city militias, a decay which was in full swing by the middle of the fourteenth century, they really held Italian society at their mercy. With the dregs of all Europe gathered under their banners, they impudently ravaged the Sienese country around the walls, and squeezed incalculable sums out of the frightened burghers. Of course the rich abbey lands of San Galgano fell a helpless prey to the adventurers, who again and again spread over them in insolent ease, not unlike a devastating cloud of locusts. The chroniclers assure us that the worst of the plunderers of the beautiful Cistercian settlement was the Englishman, Sir John Hawkwood, nothing more than a successful brigand according to our mild standards, but rewarded with royal honors in an age when he and his like commanded the most powerful armed forces of society. Hawkwood, employed by Florence to do the fighting for which the burghers, with their attention concentrated on trade and profits, had lost the taste, was cheered as if he were the shepherd David by the Florentine populace, and when he died received the extraordinary honor of being painted on horseback over the inner portal of the Florentine cathedral. There he still rides exalted over the worshippers, clamorously preaching in the impressive silence of Christ's temple the world-old doctrine of the mailed fist. Hawkwood, under engagement to Florence, was of course free to harry the territory of Siena. His practice, as well as that of other *condottieri* who visited the Merse valley, was to establish himself with headquarters at San Galgano, and then burn, rob and devastate within a radius of many miles.[15] The scenes which occurred everywhere in the Middle Ages, when a lawless horde burst upon a defenseless population, put a tax upon the imagination of a humanitarian age like ours. Hawkwood's first visit to San Galgano befell in the year 1365, and many visits by him and others of his kind followed in the succeeding generation. When the pest of the adventurous companies was at last eradicated and better times dawned, the monastery was in a state of complete disorganization. In 1397 the then abbot, one Lodovico di Tano, was constrained to sell a piece of land in order to pay a papal imposition. He found a purchaser, but could

[15] Muratori, XV., *Cronica Sanese*, 187, 189.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

not meet the legal requirements for perfecting the bargain, because the monks, whose consent was indispensable, were all dispersed. The abbot dwelt alone in the deserted halls of the great monastery.[16]

With the return of tranquillity in the fifteenth century San Galgano experienced a revival. Enough monks returned to form a new nucleus, the offices were chanted as of old, and the damage done by the Companies of Adventure was gradually repaired. But the former splendor never returned. The melancholy story of the decline to the point of abandonment and ruin that now meets the eye is written legibly enough in the records, but can only be briefly indicated here. Before the new and vital interests which the Renaissance, now mounting to its meridian, popularized throughout Italy, the monastic idea began to pale. San Galgano, buried among thick woods in a remote valley, did not bulk so large as in a simpler age. Its revenues were still considerable, but its ranks represented a descending curve of efficiency and were no longer crowded with cheerful and self-sacrificing volunteers. The abbey worried along, however, as vested interests will, until presently it fell a victim to one of the growing diseases of the Roman system, the cancer of prelacy. With the passion for a princely scale of living, which the Renaissance fastened upon the Roman pontiffs, went the need of a court, of gorgeous palaces and of a numerous retinue of sycophants to shine as minor lights around the central sun. To meet the multifarious demands upon their budget the popes were driven to tap such questionable sources of income as the sale of indulgences, while to satisfy the covetous and luxurious prelates they were constrained to assign to them the revenues of fat bishoprics and abbacies. San Galgano, a rich foundation close at hand, was not likely to escape the general fate. In the year 1503 Pope Julius II., one of the most imposing personalities of the whole line of popes, but, as ill-luck would have it, always desperately in need of cash, gave the abbey *in commendam* to one of his cardinals. On the surface the transaction signified no more than that the abbey was "commended" to the cardinal's paternal care; in reality it appropriated the entire revenue to his personal use. Whether the abbey was to be kept up depended henceforth on the distant commendatary's charity, supplemented by the begging talents of the monks. Some monks of an adventurous temper might still be inclined to take their chances with the institution under the nefarious absentee system, but they had no legal claim to anything. Their money flowed to Rome, and once at Rome was past reclaiming.

[16] Canestrelli, p. 21.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

There is no reason for following closely the miserable tale of decay under the successive commendataries, though the story is not without its element of pathos. In the year 1576 a papal inspector, sent on a tour through Tuscany, found a single monk acting as caretaker of the vast establishment, reflecting in his rags the crying destitution of the monastery.[17] The inspector reported to Rome that the refectory was without a roof, that many chapels were in decay, that of the four bells three could not be rung, and that through the broken windows the birds entered and made their nests in the church. In the year 1632 the pope, himself scandalized at the results of a prolonged exploitation but incapable of devising an effective policy of reform, reduced the dishonored monastery from its dignity of abbey, and, twenty years after, secularized it by organizing it as a simple benefice. The benefice, however, embracing the many estates which San Galgano had accumulated through the ages, produced an undiminished revenue, and this revenue continued to flow into the hands of a commendatary, who in return for an unmerited bounty assumed the meagre obligation of maintaining Christian worship in the cathedral and of making a few repairs at his discretion. The Cistercian order now definitely left the place which was associated with a not inglorious chapter of its past. The commendatary, looking for cheap labor, sent first some Vallombrosans, and later, occasional Franciscans to act as custodians of the edifice, but these uninterested guardians, drawing an infinitesimal wage, were glad if they could eke out a living without giving a thought to the maintenance of the splendid monument in whose ample enclosure they must have felt overwhelmed by a sense of their own insignificance.

And so we arrive through the long and painful stages of neglect at the last phase, the chapter of total abandonment. On January 22, 1786, a congregation of perhaps fifty peasants was gathered in the sacristy before the only altar which seems to have been kept in sufficient repair for the celebration of the mass. The rest of the edifice, we are informed, had become frightfully damp and unwholesome, owing to the fact that whenever it rained the water poured through the roof like a sieve. Suddenly on that January day "all' atto della consecrazione",[18] at the moment when the Franciscan caretaker and priest consecrated the bread, there came a tremendous roar, followed by a shock which threw the terrified worshipers upon their knees. The bell-tower, which rose just behind the sacristy and,

[17] Canestrelli, *Dócumento* XXVIII.

[18] *Ibid.*, p. 61.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

as was usual in Italy, stood free of the church, had given way and crashed to the ground. It must have seemed to the witnesses like a divine intervention that, instead of burying them under its ruins in the sacristy, it had measured its length upon the open field behind the choir. After this catastrophe neither peasants nor caretaker would trust themselves in the dilapidated edifice. They got leave to transfer the worship, maintained in the crumbling abbey for the convenience of the scattered peasants of the neighborhood, to Monte Siepi, and the venerable though neglected round chapel, which marked the grave of San Galgano and had served as the original settlement of the Cistercians, was once more supplied with an altar and rang with the solemn music of the liturgy. To this day, on Sundays and other Christian festivals, it is visited by a thin congregation of silent, stoical-looking peasants, attended by their wives and children. With the withdrawal of the priest and his flock a formal deconsecration was required by the regulations of the church in sign that the great abbey was left to perish in peace. The bishop of Volterra, in whose diocese the abbey lay, in due time published the necessary decree, and on August 10, 1789, the pertinent ceremony was gone through with by two commissioners, accompanied by a notary to make the necessary legal attestation. It is interesting to observe that just six days before, some hundreds of miles away across the snow-capped barrier of the Alps, a body of Frenchmen, calling themselves the National Assembly, had swept the remnants of feudalism out of existence and inaugurated for Europe a new age, founded upon the bold belief, no less than blasphemous to the medieval mind, of the ability of reason to effect the salvation of the human race. The chronological coincidence, linking the far-sounding pronouncement made on the Parisian stage with the abandonment unwept, unsung, of a monument which had its root in the warm heart of the Middle Ages, touches the imagination. *Sunt lachrymae rerum.*

Neglected since the days of the Renaissance by greedy and conscienceless commendataries, the doomed abbey was from the moment of deconsecration left unguarded and untenanted, a prey to the conquering elements. Not long before the tower came down in the manner we have seen, a cardinal commendatary, Feroni by name, had managed to persuade the pope to transfer the whole property of San Galgano as a private estate to his family, with the sole obligation of contributing to the maintenance of religious worship in the abbey. When the tower fell the family, in return for fitting up the chapel on Monte Siepi, got the maintenance clause abolished. The dis-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

avowal of the edifice was now complete; as far as the law was concerned, the owners were free to look upon the ancient monument as a useless encumbrance amidst their pleasant fields and meadows, and nothing hindered them from destroying it at pleasure. While balking at this extreme step, they freely resorted to it as a quarry, and the peasants, following the example of their enlightened masters, plundered it at will for such building material as their need required. Whenever a vault fell in, bullock carts rolled lumberingly to the scene to appropriate the fine blocks of travertine which littered the ground, and a heap of indistinguishable rubbish might be the only evidence of the existence of the abbey at this day, if the Italian government, sluggishly responding to the indignant appeal of a devoted lover of his country's history and art, had not, in the year 1894, stayed further demolition by declaring the ruin a national monument and by making meagre provision for its preservation.

Hardly a building testifying to the character and splendor of the Italian past is more worthy of close study than the ruined abbey of San Galgano. Unvisited by the casual tourist by reason of its remoteness from the common highways of travel, utterly untouched by the many vulgar influences of modern life, it has gathered about itself the atmosphere of silence which settles upon all noble works. On an afternoon in June, abandoning the hot and dusty post-road which I had followed for some hours, I mounted a grassy bank, and across a sun-lit meadow saw it lying, white and glittering like the gates of pearl. Around the level field, from whose thick clover came the riotous song of summer mounting to its acme, stood the wooded hills, grave and watchful. To the west, its defiant outline almost obliterated by the strong light, rose the cliff of Chiusdino. Fronting the lofty citadel and close at hand lay gently-sloping Monte Siepi with the purple roof of the old round chapel just visible above the tree-tops. Here at last in the silence of the white summer afternoon, broken only by the voices in the grass and the faint, clear call of the cuckoo, the long story of the monastery became perfectly intelligible by being lifted out of the conditions of material fact into the realm of beauty. To the wakeful inner vision will always come a moment when things, born in time, assume the aspect of eternity. From that westward rock, its sharp lines dissolving in the sun, had the knight Galgano ridden forth upon his quest of God, his golden hair, of which the legend tells, waving in the wind; in these peaceful hills had he wandered, carrying his heart in his hands like a sacrifice; and here, on brooding Monte Siepi, earth had gathered the exhausted body like a leaf of the dead year. Presently over the grave had

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

risen the round chapel of the Cistercian brotherhood and, in the due course of time, built of the prayers of men, the abbey yonder, lifting a pure front above the meadow. Even so. The crickets rehearse the tale to the cicadas shrilling in the hedges, the thrush and cuckoo inform the hills, which, when evening falls, will hold silent conference with the marching stars.

Just before sunset I entered the portal and stood in the deserted nave. The vaults had fallen in, disclosing the blue sky covered with a web of delicate rose vapor. A few blocks of weathered travertine, which had lately given way, littered the grassy floor. At the entrance to the transept a brilliant patch of yellow marked a bed of buttercups, graciously planted by some wandering wind. At either hand the eye followed the rows of piers till it rested upon the marred choir wall with its ghostly apertures. Finer clustered columns one may not hope to find, each one composed of perfectly articulated members, simple, serviceable and beautiful. Equally simple, with an added grace of subtle rhythm, are the triforium and clere-story. If this was Italian workmanship it was at least directed by the delicate Gothic spirit which emanated from the Isle de France. In the days when the ribbed vault terminated the nave and aisles, the church must have produced an effect as rounded and complete as a sonata by some great master. But if completeness has been lost, its absence is not noticed by reason of a quality much more moving to us in our character of men, a quality which Wordsworth has called "the unimaginable touch of time". Daily as the light fails from the sky and dusk gathers within the spacious enclosure, time, and its kindred spirit, beauty, circle like great birds above the deserted home of men.

FERDINAND SCHEVILL.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

SOME ECONOMIC FACTORS IN THE REVOCATION OF THE EDICT OF NANTES

It may be well at the outset to say that this paper is to deal with some economic factors influencing the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, and has nothing to do with the familiar topic of the economic results thereof.

The revocation of the Edict of Nantes is chiefly looked upon as the triumph of religious bigotry; as evidence that even if the law of Europe in 1648 recognized the right of liberty of conscience, it did not inaugurate the reign of toleration. In the enforcement of the revocation the quadruple influence of the clergy of France, the Jesuits, Louvois and Madame de Maintenon [1] has long been recognized, although the influence of the latter was less than has formerly been supposed. But to these influences a fifth must be added, economic prejudice, which was of wide popular force in ranging much of the population of France against the Huguenots.

The industrial activity and commercial wealth of the Huguenots has been remarked by every historian of the reign of Louis XIV. and emphasized to the disparagement of the other working classes of France, so that it may sound much like heresy in history to seek to diminish their credit in this respect. The number of working days of the Huguenots, owing to the fact that they paid no attention to church holidays, exceeded that of the Catholics,[2] and their productive capacity must have been proportionately greater. But the statement that the Huguenots were compelled to work with more energy because of the special difficulties which they encountered, and so developed a superior spirit of initiative and industry,[3] ignores the fact that the economic pre-eminence of the Huguenots

[1] See the passages from Madame de Maintenon's writings quoted by M. Desdevizes du Dézert, *L'Église et l'État en France depuis l'Édit de Nantes jusqu'à nos Jours,* in the chapter upon the revocation. *Cf.* Duc de Noailles, *Madame de Maintenon,* vol. II., ch. IV., § 3.

For a summary of the various views regarding the motives of the revocation, see Puaux, "La Responsabilité de la Révocation de l'Édit de Nantes", *Revue Historique,* XXIX. 247–248.

[2] There were 310 working days with the Huguenots and 260 with the Catholics. Weiss, *Histoire des Réfugiés Protestants de France depuis la Révocation de l'Édit de Nantes,* I. 25.

[3] *Cf.* Puaux, "La Responsabilité de la Révocation de l'Édit de Nantes". *Revue Historique,* XXIX. 244.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

also owed much of its success to Colbert's policy of favoritism; to the artificial stimulus given their labor; and to the special protection of many of the industries they were employed in by the government.

The dominant tendency in the seventeenth century in France was toward centralization. The growth of the royal prerogative under Louis XIV. is the political evidence of it. The policy of Colbert, who aimed at establishing uniformity in conditions of employment, is the economic manifestation of it. The purpose of mercantilism was to codify and nationalize industrial law. Grand industry was to replace the petty forms of production hitherto prevailing. The origin of this movement in France goes back to the great Édit sur les Métiers of Henry III. in 1581[4] and the famous ordinance of Henry IV. in 1597.[5] The troubles of the regency, the rebellion of the Huguenots, and the absorption in foreign politics of Richelieu (whose weakness as a minister was a failure to appreciate the bearing and value of economic phenomena save those connected with commerce and colonization), united with the turmoil of the Fronde, for years arrested the movement thus begun. But after the Fronde the old policy was revived.[6]

The gilds[7] were the chief object of attack in the enforcement of this policy and the chief opposition was encountered from them.

[4] The Édit sur les Métiers promulgated by Henry III. in December, 1581, was the first attempt made by the crown to reduce the organization of labor to uniformity throughout the kingdom. *Cf.* the Elizabethan Statute of Apprentices, 1563, Unwin, *Industrial Organization in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries,* p. 137. It summarized all preceding legislation, especially the ordinances of police of 1567 and 1577, and served as the model for the Edict of Henry IV. in 1597. When Colbert wanted to stimulate French industry he turned to the Edict of 1581 for information and guidance. According to the preamble of the edicts of March 23, 1673, and March and December, 1691, the Edict of Henry III. was regarded as the basis of the industrial legislation of France. When the physiocrats attacked the mercantile system their first attack was made upon the Edict of 1581. Turgot, in the celebrated Edict of 1776 which suppressed the gilds, invoked the Edict of 1581.

The first writer who pointed out the importance of the Edict of 1581 is Wolowski in his work, *De l'Organisation Industrielle* (1843). Levasseur has emphasized this importance in both editions of his great *Histoire des Classes Ouvrières,* II. 138–143, 156–176 (new edition), and more recently Eberstadt has consecrated an important portion of his book *Das Französische Gewerberecht* to the same subject. The last argues that the bearing of this edict upon the history of the eighteenth century was much exaggerated by the physiocrats.

[5] Levasseur, *Cours d'Économie Rurale, Industrielle et Commerciale,* p. 176.

[6] Levasseur, *Histoire des Classes Ouvrières,* II. 958.

[7] For admirable accounts of the composition and condition of the French gilds in the seventeenth century, see Babeau, *Les Artisans et les Domestiques d'Autrefois* (1886); and Franklin, *La Vie d'Autrefois: Comment on devenait Patron,* p. 1 (1889).

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Even before Colbert came to power the crown had attacked the ancient autonomy of the gilds by the Edict of December 3, 1660, which subjected all of them to royal authorization. Colbert followed this step by still more drastic action. In 1669 he abolished the old narrow regulations governing their manufactures.[8] He had no patience with their efforts to restrict trade for fear of competition, nor with their narrowness, ignorance, corruption and fraud. He established a minute system of inspection of manufactures with attendant punishment for violation of the new provisions.[9] He encouraged the foundation of new industries, giving to private persons a brevet of royal authority, exempting them from the restraints of the corporation and the surveillance of the local *corps de métier*; advanced capital; exempted them from taxes in certain cases; facilitated the hiring of labor, etc.[10] He organized new corporations and revised the statutes of the old corporations.[11] The day had gone by when work supervised by the gilds offered the greater assurance of honest production. The uniform organization of industry was to be the new order of things.

We may lay aside the question as to how far these efforts of Colbert were practicable or expedient. The point—so far as the subject of this paper is concerned—is that Colbert came into conflict with some of the most familiar habits and practices of the French nation, with deeply vested rights, with local monopoly, and that in the struggle he made large use of the Huguenots.

The gilds had a double form. They were both economic associations and religious confraternities and had been such since the Middle Ages, often having their own chapel and special religious ceremonies. This religious character was accentuated by the religious renaissance which took place in France in the seventeenth century, and of which the activity of the Jesuits, the religio-social efforts of St. Vincent de Paul, the Jansenist movement, Quietism and the conflict over the liberties of the Gallican Church are manifestations.[12] It is a significant fact that there were 136 religious congregations

[8] Edict of August 13, 1669. Clément, *Lettres, Instructions et Mémoires de Colbert,* vol. II., part I., p. 150.

[9] Edict of April 30, 1670. *Ibid.,* appendix, p. 832 ff.

[10] Levasseur, *Cours d'Économie,* etc., p. 179.

[11] Clément, *Lettres, Instructions et Mémoires de Colbert,* vol. II., part I., introduction, p. 149 ff.

[12] See on this whole movement in the church, Desdevizes du Dézert, *L'Église et l'État en France jusqu'à nos Jours,* the chapters entitled: la Renaissance Religieuse sous Louis XIII.; la Charité au XVII^e^ Siècle; la Compagnie du Très-Saint-Sacrement; le Jansénisme; le Quiétisme; la Question des Libertés Gallicanes.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

established in France in the seventy-five years between the death of Henry IV. and the revocation of the Edict of Nantes.[13] Although the Edict of Nantes assured the Protestants entrance into the gilds, the privilege was practically a dead letter. The gilds even sought to drive Huguenot workmen out of Paris, which explains the large number of them that were settled in the suburbs, where they were beyond the jurisdiction of the city corporations, yet near enough to profit by the trade of the capital.[14] Colbert played the Huguenots and other Protestants like the Anabaptists of Dunkirk[15] against the gilds. While in principle he was hostile to the gilds and ordinarily restrained Huguenot workmen from entering them or forming similar associations,[16] where it suited his purpose he forced the gilds to admit Protestant workmen;[17] he granted *letters de maîtrise*—"special appointment"—to Protestant tradesmen, as jewellers and perfumers,[18] he imported foreign Protestant workmen[19] and protected Protestant workmen against the enmity of municipalities, the gilds and the fisc;[20] he put great industries which were under gov-

[13] Compiled from Keller, *Les Congrégations Religieuses en France* (1880). It will be noticed that the movement is stronger in the reign of Louis XIII. than of Louis XIV. and that the periods of greatest activity coincide with the revolt of the Huguenots (1620–1630), when 38 congregations were founded in ten years; with the misery of the Fronde, which St. Vincent de Paul labored so much to relieve; and with the question of the liberties of the Gallican Church in 1682, in which year five congregations were established.

There were 72 religious congregations established in the reign of Louis XIII. (1610–1643) and 64 in that of Louis XIV. up to the revocation of the Edict of Nantes.

The following table shows the number of congregations established in each year between 1610 and 1685.

1613—2	1624—5	1634—3	1645—4	1660—1	1673—1
1615—1	1625—3	1635—1	1647—2	1661—1	1674—4
1616—2	1626—2	1636—2	1650—5	1662—2	1676—2
1617—2	1627—5	1637—1	1651—1	1663—2	1678—2
1618—1	1628—1	1638—2	1652—2	1664—2	1679—1
1619—3	1629—3	1639—1	1654—2	1666—2	1680—3
1620—4	1630—5	1640—2	1655—1	1667—1	1682—5
1621—1	1631—4	1641—2	1657—1	1668—1	1683—4
1622—6	1632—2	1643—2	1658—3	1670—2	1684—1
1623—3	1633—1	1644—2	1659—1	1672—2	1685—1

[14] Lespinasse, *Les Métiers*, III. 396.

[15] Voltaire, *Siècle de Louis XIV.* (ed. Bourgeois), p. 696, note 3; Clément, *Histoire de Colbert*, II. 398.

[16] Levasseur, II. 345, note 2.

[17] Clément, *Lettres, Instructions et Mémoires de Colbert*, II. 585, note; VI. 355.

[18] Eberstadt, *Das Französische Gewerberecht* (in Schmoller's *Forschungen*, 1899), XVII. 309, 358–361.

[19] Clément, *Lettres, Instructions et Mémoires de Colbert*, VII. 355.

[20] *Ibid.*, II. 756; Lavisse, *Histoire de France*, VII., part 1., p. 220.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ernment patronage in the control of Protestant superintendents, as in the case of the Hollander Joos van Robais, the Calvinist manufacturer of Abbeville,[21] who employed 6,500 workmen.[22]

The gilds bitterly fought the entrance of Protestant members into their midst[23] and the introduction of Protestant workmen into the realm, so much so that Colbert openly expressed hope of Van Robais's conversion—shall we say for economic reasons?[24] The iron industry at Sedan, the manufacture of paper in Auvergne and Angoumois,[25] the tanneries of Touraine, were almost exclusively in their hands. In the faubourgs of Paris they were engaged in the making of jewelry, for which the city was already famous. In Brittany the Huguenots were largely interested in the linen trade. The silk-works of Lyons were controlled by them. In Gévaudan entire families were engaged in the woollen trade. Their commercial connection with England and Holland was intimate.

It was inevitable that this favoritism, united with the religious animosity, should in course of time create a widespread and bitter feeling in France, both economic and religious, against the Huguenots,[26] who were less than one-tenth of the population, but who,

[21] Clément, *Lettres, Instructions et Mémoires de Colbert,* II. 669, 674, 739, 743–744, 748; VI. 96–97; VII. 440. The majority of the silk operatives were Huguenots. Levasseur, II. 254. Van Robais was much troubled by the hostility of the *corps de métier* of Abbeville, and Colbert wrote to the intendant, May 12, 1673: "Je vous ay cy-devant écrit (*cf.* vol. II. *Industrie,* pièce no. 267) que le sieur Van Robais estoit troublé dans son establissement par les visites que les maistres et gardes de cette ville-là faisoient chez luy. Comme plusieurs particuliers de la mesme ville luy suscitent des procès et le traduisent en des juridictions où ils ont du crédit, je vous prie, lorsque vous passerez par cette ville-là, de prendre connoissance des obstacles qu'il rencontre dans son travail, et de tenir la main à ce qu'on le laisse en repos, en exécutant néanmoins des édits qui ont esté donnés sur le fait de la religion prétendue reformée." Clément, *Lettres, Instructions et Mémoires de Colbert,* VI. 97, note 2.

[22] *Ibid.,* II. 786.

[23] For an interesting example, see *ibid.,* VI., no. 49, pp. 131–132.

[24] See his letter of May 15, 1681, to the intendant at Amiens, recommending him to make every effort to convert Van Robais, "Parceque, par ce moyen, au lieu que cette manufacture est entré les mains d'huguenots, nous parviendrons à faire convertir tous ceux qui y travaillent et à la mettre aux catholiques."

For the special protection given Van Robais by the intendant at Amiens, see Godard, *Les Pouvoirs des Intendants sous Louis XIV.,* pp. 312–314.

[25] A Hollander from Amsterdam, at Angoulême, employed 500 workmen. D'Avaux, *Négociations,* V. 97; Lane-Poole, *Huguenots of the Dispersion,* pp. 8–9.

[26] "Non seulement le clergé, mais les parlements, les cours souveraines, les universités, *les communeautés des marchands et des artisans* se livraient en toute occasion à leur pieuse animosité: dès qu'on pouvait, dans quelque cas particulier, enfreindre l'édit de Nantes, abattre un temple, restreindre un exercice, *ôter un emploi à un protestant,* on croyait remporter une victoire sur l'hérésie." Rulhière, *Éclaircissements Historiques sur la Révocation de l'Édit de Nantes,* I. 26. *Cf.* Clément, *La Police sous Louis XIV.,* p. 270.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

owing to Colbert's patronage, enjoyed a much greater degree of prosperity than Catholic workmen. Coupled with this condition was the new conception of business which the Huguenots borrowed from Holland, which also tended to make them unpopular. The practice of medieval trade was to make cheaply and to sell dear. The French Protestants, like the Dutch, grew rich on quick sales and small returns or by making low profits on large sales. Moreover the Huguenots chiefly dealt with England and Holland, and the stability of the Dutch currency, which was in favorable contrast with that of France, which varied enormously, was of immense advantage to them.[27]

In the conflict against Colbert, the gilds were supported by the notorious Compagnie du Très-Saint-Sacrement, among the least of whose insidious practices was preaching the economic doctrine of boycotting Protestant tradesmen, especially those who had received *lettres de maîtrise,* many of whose brevets were annulled through pressure brought by the Compagnie upon the king.[28] It even succeeded in depriving Protestant merchantmen of a market among their fellow-religionists. For example, a Huguenot who had the butcher's privilege at Charenton was compelled to purchase his meats wholesale at the butchery of the Hotel-Dieu, and a fine of 300 livres was imposed upon Protestant butchers who sold meat on fast days *even to Protestants.*[29] It was the purpose of this association to combat the Huguenots by every possible means. We know today that it inspired the multitude of *arrêts* issued by the *parlements,* by the *conseil du roi* and by the intendants of the provinces, which broke down the stipulated guarantees and privileges of the Edict of Nantes and prepared the way for the revocation at last.

[27] For proof of the prejudice this condition of things caused, see Clément, *Lettres, Instructions et Mémoires de Colbert,* VII. 432, note 4. On the fluctuation of the French currency, see Voltaire, *Siècle de Louis XIV.* (ed. Bourgeois), p. 602.

[28] For some cases, see Allier, *La Cabale des Dévots,* pp. 276–278. No Protestant could be a member of the hosier's gild. Levasseur, II. 345, note 2, Edict of August 21, 1665.

[29] Allier, *La Cabale des Dévots,* p. 275. In the minutes of the Compagnie, under date of July 29, 1664, the following may be read: "On représenta qu'il fallait empêcher que les huguenots n'entrassent dans la Compagnie du commerce, et l'on résolut d'y travailler par divers moyens." *Revue Historique,* LXXI. 300.

There is an extensive literature on the history of the Compagnie du Très-Saint-Sacrement. In addition to the work of Allier cited above, see Rabbe, "Une Société Secrète Catholique au XVII[e] Siècle", *Revue Historique,* LXXI. 243–302; Leroux, *Histoire de la Réforme en Limousin* (1888), pp. 122–125, and extracts from the minutes of the Compagnie in the *Bulletin de la Société Archéologique du Limousin,* XXXIII. 58–76; XLV. 338–416; *Archives Historiques du Limousin,* I. 240–249. See also Beauchet-Filleau, *Le Règne de Jésus-Christ* (1884), and P. Ch. Clair, *Études Religieuses des Pères de la Compagnie de Jésus* (1888–1889).

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The king, as his bigotry increased, gradually withdrew his support from his minister. From the moment that the war with the Dutch acquired a religious character and the danger which Holland was experiencing roused against him the feelings of all the Protestant states, it was easy to persuade the king that his Huguenot subjects were the allies of his enemies. No trace of this alliance has ever been found, but it seems possible, even probable. The Venetian ambassador mentions it in speaking of the motives which induced the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, saying that the reformed ministers spoke of it as a *possible* result of the continuation of hostilities.[30]

The assembly of the clergy in 1675 had demanded that the Huguenots be no longer employed in such great numbers in the administration of the finances, and that they be completely deprived of the right to farm the revenues,[31] because it ought not to be tolerated that the greater part of the riches of the provinces should pass through their hands. It is not certain that Colbert was opposed to this measure. The clergy assert that he had a hand in it. As a result the Huguenots were excluded from the finances, from farming the revenues and from the navy. They were deprived of municipal offices and barred from public employment in the towns. Finally in 1679 the *corps de métier* were closed to the Protestants,[32] and all *lettres de maîtrise* granted them were annulled.[33]

Up to the present time, no document has been brought to light which positively proves that Colbert was opposed to the persecutions of the Huguenots, and it is probably true that he would not have protested against the revocation.[34] We know that he attached great importance to the union between the crown and the clergy which these persecutions rendered more intimate, and while the policy of the king had not reached the extreme limit of intolerance, Colbert must have seen enough to divine what the ultimate

[30] The Venetian ambassador alludes to this probability in speaking of the motives which induced Louis XIV. to sign the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle. See Ranke, *Französiche Geschichte,* III. 377, note 2. *Cf.* Duc de Noailles, *Madame de Maintenon,* II. 323, note 2.

[31] *Articles concernant la Religion* (1675), art. 44.

[32] Clément, *Lettres, Instructions et Mémoires de Colbert,* II. 90.

[33] *Ibid.,* VI. 125. After Colbert's death the prohibition was extended to surveyors and appraisers (1684); book-sellers, printers, physicians and even apothecaries (1685).

[34] Since the publication of Colbert's official papers, there is little room to doubt this. "Sans doute Colbert n'eût empeché la révocation de l'Édit de Nantes", Levasseur, II. 903. St. Simon, however thought otherwise. "Colbert, le seul homme qu'il (Louvois) eût pu craindre dans le partage du secret", etc., *Parallèle des Trois Premiers Rois Bourbons* (ed. Faugère), p. 222. *Cf. Mémoires de St. Simon* (ed. Chéruel), vol. VIII., ch. XI.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

intentions of the king were. Louvois was the man of the hour and was bitterly hostile to the Protestants and economically in favor of the old order of things.[35] Colbert's fall from grace assured the victory of the gilds, of local monopoly, of the system of internal tolls and provincial barriers which was not abolished until the Revolution. Economically speaking the revocation of the Edict of Nantes was the triumph of the ancient and immemorial economic régime of France over the modern tendency and more enlightened practices of the new political economy represented by Colbert.

Turning from France to Holland, the country with which the Huguenots had most intimate relations, we find that it was economic interest very largely which led Holland to sympathize with the Huguenots. In fact religious sympathy was never more than niggardly given them by the Dutch.

The bearing of Louis XIV.'s aggressive political course and Colbert's economic tyranny upon the European combination has often been pointed out. But the particular influence of their joint policy toward the United Provinces in shaping the Dutch attitude toward the revocation of the Edict of Nantes deserves to be emphasized. The Edict of Nantes might have been revoked without giving so much umbrage to the Dutch as it did, if Louis XIV. had not obstinately ignored the differences that divided the Calvinist and the Arminian parties in Holland, and associated them in one common condemnation, instead of adopting a conciliatory policy toward the latter and so playing them against the Orange party.

Broadly speaking the Dutch Calvinists were monarchists politically and protectionists economically, while the Arminians were republicans in politics and advocates of free trade or at least reciprocity.[36] In the Dutch government at this time the States General

[35] Levasseur, II. 953.

[36] "Ils m'avoüerent la foiblesse du Gouvernement présent, me remontrerent l'autorité que le Prince d'Orange usurpoit tous les jours; le peu d'espérance qu'ils avoient de la pouvoir diminuer sans le secours de Sa Majesté. . . . Je mandai au Roi, que, quoique tous ces discours m'eussent été tenus par des gens bien senséz, je ne m'étois pas pressé d'en informer Sa Majesté, puisque c'étoient à peu près les mêmes choses, que j'avois déja eu l'honneur de lui mander de la part de ce fameux Republicain, mais que je me croyois enfin obligé de la faire, d'autant plus que deux des plus riches et des plus considérables Marchands de Hollande, dont il y en avoit un qui étoit depuis très-long-tems dans le Gouvernement de sa Ville, m'étoient venus trouver la veille, et m'avoient tenu à-peu-près le même langage, qui, quoique très-contraire aux intentions de Sa Majesté, m'avoit paru de si grande conséquence, que je n'avois pas cru pouvoir me dispenser d'en rendre compte: qu'ils m'avoient témoigné, que si Sa Majesté vouloit attacher pour toûjours, et indispensablement, les États-Généraux à la France, et faire même entrer ses Sujets en part du commerce des États-Généraux". . . . D'Avaux, I. 69–70, March 13, 1681.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

was hostile to the house of Orange politically and economically and many of the members were Arminian in faith as well. Thus the States General was inclined toward France, for they saw in Louis XIV. a make-weight against the growing power of William of Orange and were indifferent to the French king's coercion of his Protestant subjects.[37]

One serious source of disagreement between the States General and William was the reduction of the army and navy after the peace of Nimwegen, when the Republican party, led by the magistrates of Amsterdam, compelled the disbandment of 6,000 newly raised troops.[38] Their ascendancy might have continued if Louis XIV. had not repulsed their overtures, and if William, whose chief aim was to alienate the States General from its French sympathy, had not inflamed the popular mind over Louis XIV.'s policy toward the Huguenots.[39]

The backbone of the Arminian party was the wealthy merchant class of Amsterdam, Rotterdam, Leyden, Delft and Dordrecht, whose political convictions and sense of thrift made them resent any increase of the power of the stadtholder. They were indifferent to the cause of the Huguenots, until they saw their course was alienating a great many lukewarm Republicans, as well as some of their own party, who otherwise would not have fallen away from France.[40] They looked ahead to the possible succession of William of Orange to the throne of England. Many of them thought that if the Prince of Orange succeeded to the English crown, he would instantly propose a league to the States General for the support of the Huguenots; that he would be the first to enter into a war against France and could so sway public opinion in the Netherlands as to force the States General and the Arminian party by his policy.[41]

[37] D'Avaux, I. 79, July 31, 1681. *Cf.* Ségur-Dupeyron, *Négociations Commerciales et Maritimes au XVII^e et au XVIII^e Siècles,* II. 144–145.

[38] This proposal was the subject of a violent and protracted altercation between William of Orange and the States General. *Cf.* D'Avaux, I. 127–128, 172–173, 179, 181–182; II. 29, 79, 93, 114, 121–122.

[39] *Ibid.,* IV. 3. When the Edict of June 17, 1681, which reduced from fourteen years to seven the age of discretion at which Protestant children might elect to follow the Catholic faith ("Les rapts d'enfants protestants furent en effet autorisés par cette déclaration", Puaux, "La Responsabilité de la Révocation de l'Édit de Nantes", *Revue Historique,* XXIX. 263), was translated and spread broadcast over Holland it produced a great impression. Even Friesland and Groningen, provinces least under William's control, began to lean towards him. D'Avaux, I. 77, July 24, 1681.

[40] *Ibid.,* IV. 160, March 22, 1685.

[41] *Ibid.,* IV. 161, March 22, 1685.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

D'Avaux warned Louis XIV. in vain of the drift of public opinion against France in Holland. On March 22, 1685, he wrote as follows:

> True it is that the affairs of religion in France have disappointed some classes of the people at Amsterdam, but they have not made so much impression upon the mind of the magistrates of that city in general as to make them alter their conduct. I am nevertheless obliged to tell Your Majesty that the preachers and the accounts which are sent from France have irritated them so much that I do not know what the consequences will be.[42]

Finally in September, 1685, the inevitable happened and the Arminian party utterly yielded to the Prince of Orange.

The violent economic policy of Louis XIV. and Colbert played the largest part in this alienation of the Arminian party by France. As Louis XIV. ignored the religious difference between the Calvinists and the Arminians, so he refused until too late[43] to recognize the economic antagonism between the Orange-Calvinist party, who believed in Dutch tariffs, and the Arminians, who advocated reciprocity with France. If Louis XIV. and his minister had been willing to abate their commercial tyranny, the suffering of the Huguenots would have found less sympathy in Holland.[44] But, like his sovereign, Colbert was a man of one idea. He rejected the overtures of the States General and his commercial tyranny finally drove the merchants of Amsterdam and other Dutch cities into the camp of William of Orange.

The king was warned in vain of the inevitable result of his policy. "The fewer causes of uneasiness they (Amsterdam merchants) have concerning their vessels", wrote D'Avaux, "the less inclined they will be to engage in *certain affairs* which perhaps they may be obliged to do for the sake of getting the consent of the towns that belong to the Prince of Orange for re-establishing of the marine."[45] The merchants of Amsterdam too late had discovered that their parsimony in resisting the enlargement of the Dutch marine now exposed them to French aggression on the high seas, and William took advantage of the situation to play a deep game. He turned a deaf ear to their entreaties for protection, and refused to consider any enlargement of the Dutch fleet. His eyes were fixed upon England. He was determined to compel the

[42] D'Avaux, IV. 160, March 22, 1685.

[43] "Le Roi approuva fort ce que j'avois insinué à Messieurs d'Amsterdam au sujet de l'espérance qu'ils ont de tirer du Roi de nouveaux avantages pour leur Commerce." *Ibid.*, V. 24, Lettre du Roi, du 7 Juin, 1685.

[44] *Ibid.*, IV. 160, March 22, 1685.

[45] *Ibid.*, IV. 163–164, March 23 and 27, 1685.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Arminian party to accept his English policy and by deliberately neglecting to strengthen the navy of the republic he compelled his antagonists at home to look toward English naval superiority for relief.[46]

In spite of the seventh article of the treaty of Nimwegen, which provided for liberty of trade between the two countries, Dutch vessels were compelled to pay fifty *sous par tonneau* in French ports and their merchandise was subjected to the tariff duties of 1664.[47] When French ships every day searched Dutch merchantmen and openly carried off their merchandise;[48] when the Dutch were menaced in their commerce all along the line; when the importation of fresh herrings into France was prohibited; when, contrary to the articles of the treaty, the Dutch were hindered from selling their cloths; when they were neither allowed to dispose of their goods nor to take them again from the kingdom, and so lost credit and property together; it was more than even phlegmatic Dutch human nature could endure.

The grievances of the Dutch merchants against France were very real. It was the common custom in the nature and course of trade for them to remit considerable sums of money to their correspondents in France every year at vintage time and harvest for the facilitation of trade, and to make considerable advances for wines, cognac, chestnuts, prunes, etc., to be delivered later. Many of these French correspondents were Huguenots who were ruined by the persecution of the government and naturally involved their Dutch creditors in their fall. The intendants without regard to the liberty of commerce provided for in the commercial articles of the treaty of 1679 did not spare even Dutch merchants themselves who were settled in France, putting seals upon their warehouses, and, in case of their temporary absence, summoning them to return within three days under penalty of 3000 livres, besides threatening the destruction of their houses and the exposure of their furniture and merchandise for sale. The dragoons not infrequently sacked such establishments. Moreover, the provision requiring all persons who had any effects belonging to Protestants to declare the same, disabled many Dutch merchants who had advanced goods on credit to French merchants whether Protestant or Catholic. Natives of

[46] D'Avaux, vol. IV., p. 156, March 19, 1685; p. 166, March 29, 1685. For some cases of Dutch vessels seized by France, see *ibid.*, vol. IV., p. 169 (ship *Ste. Marie*); p. 172 (ship *Marie Bura*).

[47] Vast, *Les Grands Traités du Règne de Louis XIV.*, II. 67, note; Saint-Priest, *Histoire des Traités de Paix*, I. 379; D'Avaux, V. 15, May 31, 1685.

[48] D'Avaux, IV. 173, April 12, 1685.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Holland in France were generally unable to remove their effects from the country,[49] although Louis XIV. could not, without contravention of the treaties of 1648 and 1679, hinder the Dutch who were not naturalized from leaving the kingdom with their effects, for it was provided in case of war that such persons should have nine months[50] in which to retire and to dispose of their property.

As to naturalized Dutch subjects, the policy of Louis XIV. was less open to question; but even here there is room to doubt the legality of his course. For although the act of naturalization rendered such persons not only inhabitants but subjects of France, nevertheless their letters of naturalization not only stated that their possessors professed the Protestant religion, but there was a special clause asserting that the king was willing that they should enjoy the rights granted in the edicts of toleration. The question was, therefore, whether Louis XIV. could lawfully enforce the revocation in the case of naturalized subjects, and the States General in a resolution of September 27, 1685, protested against the legality of the king's action.[51] In the face of Louis XIV.'s high-handed treatment of the Dutch, and inasmuch as there was scarce a person in Holland who did not have a relative or friend engaged in trade with France, it is no wonder that the whole country at last came to support the Huguenot cause and espouse the policy of William of Orange.[52] Yet it is to be noted that it was *economic self-interest* far more than sympathy with the French Protestants that influenced Holland.[53] Even when the revocation was an accomplished fact the States General undertook to sift the French refugees. It is notorious that the practical government of the United Provinces

[49] See the remarkable petition of the burgomaster and magistrates of Amsterdam presented to the States General, September 20, 1685, in D'Avaux, V. 78–81.

[50] Art. 27 of the Treaty of Commerce and Navigation. See Vast, *Les Grands Traités du Règne de Louis XIV.*, II. 78.

[51] D'Avaux, V. 73, 85–86.

[52] *Ibid.*, V. 72–74, September 20, 1686.

[53] "Il est venu, Sire, une si grande quantité de lettres à Amsterdam des Correspondans que les Marchands de cette Ville-là ont en France, que cela a excité beaucoup de rumeur; il y a même eu soixante Bourgeois qui ont signe une Requête qu'ils ont présentée aux Bourguemestres d'Amsterdam. Comme il n'y a presque personne dans la Magistrature de cette Ville-là, qui ne se trouve interessé dans cette affaire; il a été resolu de porter ces plaintes aux États de Hollande et aux États-Généraux. . . . En confidence, . . . ils avoient défendu à leurs Deputés d'en parler dans l'assemblée de Hollande, aimant mieux que cette affaire fût entamée par d'autres que par eux: mais que tous les Marchands d'Amsterdam ont fait tant de bruit, èt que les Bourguemestres ont vû en effet que leur commerce en France est si absolument detruit." *Ibid.*, V. 77, September 24, 1685.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

permitted only those to settle in Holland who had means. In fact Holland was moved more by the consequences of the revocation than by horror of the act itself.[54]

JAMES WESTFALL THOMPSON.

[54] The latent resentment of the Arminians against the Calvinists and their lingering attachment to France comes out as late as 1686 in the order of the States General of March prohibiting the publication of all kinds of gazettes, journals and printed accounts of what had passed in France, and forbidding the printing or selling of any book in which any mention was made of the persecution of the Huguenots.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

SOME PHASES OF TENNESSEE POLITICS IN THE JACKSON PERIOD[1]

In the period of Andrew Jackson's supremacy in the political affairs of the United States, the state of Tennessee had but recently emerged from the conditions of frontier life. Out of the struggles of these early years was developed the prominence not only of Jackson himself, but of such men as Hugh Lawson White and Felix Grundy, with whom, for at least a part of their life, the younger men, James K. Polk and John Bell, were contemporary. The leadership of all these Tennesseans and the national positions to which they attained are not explainable on the sole ground of their individual power, but indicate that some special importance in the politics of the time attached to the section and to the state from which they came. The general outlines of this influence have been sketched by others. In this essay the writer has selected for intensive study two of the prominent issues of national politics at that time, with the purpose of investigating closely the relation to these issues and the interest in them of the state of Tennessee. The questions thus selected for analysis are: first, the disposal of public lands; and second, the extension of credit through banking. Each of these matters, it will be conceded, became of the highest importance and gave rise to political controversy in the nation. Our endeavor is to examine the attitude of the state towards them from the standpoint of its own experience.

I. Sales and Donations of Public Lands.

North Carolina, within whose limits lay the territory that became the state of Tennessee, in 1789 ceded this territory to the United States, but made at the time certain very important stipulations, especially with reference to the payment of her Revolutionary soldiers. Differences in the interpretation of the terms of the cession resulted in a dispute with Tennessee. This in turn led in 1806 to a compromise to which North Carolina, Tennessee and the federal government were parties. The essential part of this agreement was the recognition that land-warrants issued by North Carolina during the preceding years to her Revolutionary soldiers and

[1] Acknowledgment is made of assistance received from the Carnegie Institution of Washington in the preparation of this study.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

others must be satisfied by Tennessee, but that Tennessee through her own offices should administer these warrants and ripen them into grants.[2] Not all the lands of the state, however, were open for the location of these warrants. In the first place, an extensive territory in the eastern and southeastern parts of the state had long been reserved by North Carolina for the Cherokees. This included the three divisions later described as (*a*) the "District South of French Broad and Holston", (*b*) the "Hiwassee District" and (*c*) the "Ocoee District". To the history of this reservation, with which henceforth North Carolina had nothing more to do, we shall refer below. Secondly, Congress reserved to the United States all the lands west and south of a certain line, known as the "Congressional Reservation" line. This line ran up the Tennessee River from the Kentucky boundary towards the southern limits of Tennessee, then turned to the east of the river and then to the southern boundary. All the territory between the Tennessee and the Mississippi rivers, and a lesser area lying east of the Tennessee, were thus set off, as being to the west and south of this line. Between these two reservations, one in the east and one in the west, lay the great central part of the state. In this the North Carolina warrants might be located, subject to but one limitation—the extinction of the Indian title. By 1806, the time of the compromise, the Indians had ceded nearly all of this section of the state.[3]

In contrast with the legislation enacted for the Northwest Territory, Congress established no land-offices in Tennessee and made no insistence upon a plan of rectangular mensuration. The state laws were in this respect entirely inadequate, and consequently the old colonial system of metes and bounds went on almost without change.[4] The various and often conflicting rights to land under the old land-laws gave rise to endless litigation, which employed most of the time of the courts and the lawyers of Tennessee.[5] The social and economic effects of the land-system were most important

[2] See the Land Laws in Haywood and Cobbs, *The Statute Laws of the State of Tennessee*, II. 7–15, where the Cession Act, the Tennessee Laws, the Acts of North Carolina and the Act of Congress of 1806 are given in full.

[3] On the Indian cessions that concerned Tennessee, and the interest of the state in the removal of the Indian tribes, see an article by the writer in the *Sewanee Review* for July, 1908.

[4] This is reflected in the Land Office map of the United States, where Tennessee and Kentucky are distinguished from the other states formed out of the public domain by the absence of the rectangular demarcation of townships and sections. See Whitney, *The Land Laws of Tennessee*; the Tennessee Reports; Haywood and Cobbs, II.

[5] One writer has said "The history of public lands in this state is the history of confusion." Phelan, *History of Tennessee*, p. 232.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

—indeed lay at the bottom of the social and political structure of the state. In connection with banking and credit, with regard to internal improvement, in relation to the speculation which characterized Tennessee no less than other Western states, and in its bearing on the institution of slavery—in all these ways the land-system was fundamentally involved. Certain phases of the land-question, however, are for our present purposes more interesting than others. We shall therefore limit this discussion to two points: first, to certain later developments in the method of land-sales in Tennessee; and secondly, to the position of those settlers known as "occupants" under the Tennessee land-law, and the proposal to donate to these small amounts of land free of any cost of purchase.

The administration of the North Carolina warrants brought no revenue to Tennessee; such income could be obtained only from the lands which the state could sell. Prospectively, all the eastern reservation referred to above would come to Tennessee after the removal of the Indians. At the time of the compromise only one-third was given her by Congress. This was the district south of the French Broad and the Holston, and even here the right of the state to sell the lands was made subject to important restrictions. A certain amount of the lands was to be devoted to colleges and academies, the rights of the "occupant" settlers were carefully guarded, and, above all, except to these occupants, Tennessee was forbidden to sell its land at any price lower than that charged at the land-offices of the United States, which was then a minimum of $2.00 per acre. This Tennessee regarded as excessively high. The result was the adoption of the credit system, and a painful manifestation of its worst features, including delay and petitions for relief. The land-debtors formed a sectional interest, and the educational institutions suffered greatly.[6]

In 1819, through the extinction of the Indian title by Calhoun's treaty of that year, Tennessee got control of the second block of land in East Tennessee,[7] the Hiwassee District, which by the agreement of 1806 was not subject to the claims of North Carolina warrant-holders. This land could, therefore, be sold by Tennessee, which thus obtained the opportunity of adopting a better method of survey and sale, whereby a large sum of money might be brought

[6] The details of this are to be found in the monograph by Hon. E. T. Sanford, *Blount College and the University of Tennessee*, pp. 41–59. Compare with this the experience of the national government as described in Emerick, *The Credit System and the Public Domain*.

[7] In addition to that south of the French Broad and the Holston mentioned above.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

into the state treasury. A better method of survey was adopted: a plan of rectangular mensuration under state not federal offices. As to selling the land, however, the old plan of credit sales was continued and another class of land-debtors established.[8] But while the matter was before the legislature, a new plan was suggested. The public lands committee of the state legislature included among its members Felix Grundy, Pleasant M. Miller and J. C. Mitchell. The last named now proposed, in lieu of the credit system, a graduation in the price of the lands offered for sale. Mitchell argued that competition to secure the best land would keep the prices up and that only the really less valuable land would bring the lower prices, while the great advantage would be the removal of the evils of the credit system.

Grundy and Miller, Mitchell said at a later time, treated his proposals with levity, and carried the assembly against him; but he brought the matter up again and again, and, in 1823 after he had retired from the legislature, his friends finally passed a law to offer at graduated prices the large amount of lands in the Hiwassee District that remained unsold from the first land-sales of 1820.[9] Occupants were given preference of entry for six months at $1.50 an acre. At the end of this period the lands not bought and paid for were to be offered for general sale for three months at that price. The price should then be reduced to $1.00, with preference to the occupants for three months and then general sale for the same time. Thus the price should be gradually reduced till it reached 25 cents. Then after two months it should fall to 12½ cents—the minimum fixed at that time.

This was in a small district in Tennessee. In the Senate of the United States, in the meanwhile, the champion of the public land states was strenuously urging further modifications in the land-system, especially the land-sales, of the United States. The credit system had already given way to that of cash purchases; rights of preemption had been granted. Now, in 1824, Thomas Hart Benton introduced his bill to graduate the price of the public lands of the United States. Tennessee was of course well known to Benton; indeed it was probably during his sojourn in that state that the land-question first interested him.[10] The Tennessee senators at Washington were in touch with him, and supported his land-measures.

[8] Act of 1819, ch. 59.

[9] Mitchell's account of his plan is found in *American State Papers,* folio, Public Lands, V. 515. The Act of 1823, ch. 26, made some modifications of detail.

[10] Benton, *Thirty Years' View,* I. 102–103.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

We might be justified then in assuming that in this proposal of the system of graduated prices he was acquainted with and influenced by Tennessee's experience. The assumption is however unnecessary, for there is direct evidence on this point. In 1828, in his arguments before the Senate, he used letters from Mitchell and from Nathan Smith of Tennessee to show how the experiment was thought to have worked. Smith, the entry-taker of the Hiwassee District, wrote sending figures as to the amount of land sold at the graduated rates. To these statistics he added:

> I have no doubt that, if the Congress of the United States could witness the good effect that this law has had on the citizens of our little district, (not more than forty miles square,) your bill would pass almost unanimously. The price graduated at periodical times (and the land marked out, that the enterer knows exactly what he gets for his money) creates an unheard-of stimulus among all classes of citizens to become landholders. I know many men in this district who, when the law passed graduating the price, etc., were not worth fifty dollars on earth, that never before owned a foot of land, so soon as they found land within their reach used every exertion, and by their industry and good management got themselves money and entered land that makes them good homes, and they are now respectable members of society. It was not uncommon for many of them to spare their last horse, and some their last cow, to save their homes; and I know some men that could not get enough for their only horse in this district to enter them a quarter section, when, at fifty cents per acre, they got on their horse, rode him to Georgia, and sold him, and walked back with their cash in their pockets, and entered their land that they are now making a good living on; and it is gratifying to have it to say that very little of the land here was entered or purchased for speculation.[11]

Thus much for the change in Tennessee from the credit system to that of graduated prices. In 1837 the latter plan was again adopted for the sale of the land in the Ocoee District—the third Cherokee strip in East Tennessee—of which the state secured possession after the treaty of removal in 1835. We pass to another phase of the same matter—a phase which involved not only the land-purchaser and the warrant-holder, but those who, having neither purse nor scrip, yet wished to establish their homes on the lands of Tennessee.

The class to which we allude was dignified, in the laws, by the name "occupants": a more familiar word, perhaps, is "squatters". The distinction between these and warrant-holders must be clearly borne in mind. The latter were armed with legal authority from North Carolina to receive a certain amount of land; the former were at the mercy of the legislature, which had however a generous heart. In the fundamental land-law of North Carolina of 1777, that

[11] *American State Papers*, V. 514.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

state had given to occupants a preference of entry, and when the North Carolina cession was made, certain groups of occupants already seated on their lands were protected in their occupancy by the terms of that agreement.[12] Elsewhere, those who had established occupancy on lands to which the Indian title was not extinguished usually were allowed, if they could get hold of any warrants, to locate these to cover their homesteads and improvements. But in comparison with the warrant-holder, or the land-purchaser at public sales, their title was necessarily insecure and their position precarious.

West of the line drawn by Congress in 1806, the United States, as we have said, reserved the land, and no warrant could legally be laid down. This however did not prevent the speculator who held warrants from North Carolina from retaining surveys that antedated the restriction by Congress, or from travelling through the "Congressional Reservation" (in possession for the most part of the Chickasaws) and locating, at least in his mind, the tracts which he coveted, meanwhile biding his time till Congress should extinguish the Indian title and throw open the country to white settlement. In 1818 this actually happened: Congress acted on the plea that the lands north and east of the "Congressional Reservation" line were insufficient to satisfy the warrants of North Carolina, and opened to these the lands from which they had hitherto been excluded.[13] A burst of speculation and a wild rush of settlement followed.[14] Vast numbers of warrants were laid down; and many rushed to "occupy", hoping to secure some right which later, when a warrant should be secured, might ripen into a grant; or if they were lucky and long undisturbed, even without a warrant some day might make the land their own. The land that lay between warranted tracts it was customary to speak of as "waste" or "vacant and unappropriated" land; and here especially was opportunity for the occupant.

In 1821 when the first rush was over and the good lands all granted, another provision of the Act of 1806, hitherto largely neglected, was brought to public notice. This was the requirement[15] that one-sixteenth of the land of the original district east of the line should be appropriated to schools. Apparently as a result of Maryland's proposal that Congress should make to the old states land-grants commensurate with those given to the new states, an investi-

[12] See the long series of occupancy laws in Haywood and Cobbs, II.

[13] Act of Congress, 1818, ch. 35. 3 *U. S. Statutes*, p. 416.

[14] Act of Tennessee, 1819, ch. 1, was intended to regulate this.

[15] *Id.*, 1806, ch. 1, § 6.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

gation was made, and it was found that the satisfaction of the North Carolina warrants had nullified the provision as to schools and that out of all the lands in this part of the state only a little over 22,000 acres were available.[16] Application was then made to Congress for authority to sell for the support of common schools the waste or refuse lands in the eastern and middle parts of the state. This was granted,[17] and the lands were sold at reduced prices, much of what is now valuable coal and mineral land bringing one cent an acre.[18] Shortly after, a similar attempt was made with regard to the waste lands south and west of the line; and the Congressional delegation of Tennessee were instructed to use their best efforts to win the consent of Congress for the sale of these lands also for the sake of education.[19] After failure in the Eighteenth Congress,[20] the matter was taken up in the Nineteenth by James K. Polk, then a representative from the sixth district of Tennessee and a member of the House Committee of Public Lands, and a bill was brought in which passed two readings.[21] In 1828 he again succeeded in reporting from the committee a bill to grant the desired right.[22] Thus far he had had the support of the entire delegation from Tennessee, but next year the whole scheme was suddenly blocked by the action of the representative from the Western District, the backwoodsman, David Crockett.

Crockett was something of a political whirligig. In 1827 he had voted against Jackson for senator, but later had come to Congress as an anti-tariff Jacksonian. In 1828 he wrote home speaking of Jackson in the most loyal terms.[23] In January of 1829 however he stirred up a fight with the whole Tennessee delegation—which, as we have said, was endeavoring to secure from Congress a cession of the western waste lands for education—by proposing that a certain amount of this land should be given outright to the occupants.[24] Polk and the other representative from Tennessee tried to placate Crockett with an amendment guarding the rights of the occupants to their settlements on the land in question,[25] but Crockett had found assistance in the ranks of the opposition, and,

[16] *Niles's Register,* XXI. 299 ff.
[17] 5 *U. S. Statutes,* p. 729.
[18] Acts of Tennessee, 1823, ch. 49; 1825, ch. 64.
[19] *House Journal,* 1823, pp. 325–329.
[20] *Annals of Congress,* 18 Cong., 1 sess., II. 1754.
[21] *Journal of the House of Representatives,* 19 Cong., 1 sess., p. 240.
[22] *Congressional Debates,* 1827–1828, vol. IV., part II., p. 2496.
[23] Manuscript letter of Crockett, Tennessee Historical Society.
[24] *Congressional Debates,* V. 161.
[25] *Ibid.,* p. 165.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

apparently, was being used by them. At any rate the occupants were by him placed before the schools. In the Congressional debates and in the newspapers of Tennessee the matter was thrashed out, while Polk's letters show the disgust of the Tennessee representatives and Judge White (then senator), and their combination to report Crockett to the home constituency.[26]

The result was that Crockett went over to the other side and strenuously opposed the measures of Jackson's administration. In the grand rally of the Jackson party in 1835 he was opposed by one of the stalwarts, Adam Huntsman, and his defeat by this one-legged rival is the traditional reason for his departure for Texas, where he won a greater fame by his tragic death at the Alamo. In his case the personal and political factors lent an added importance to what seemed to be a local quarrel, for the secession of Crockett to the opposition was the first open break in the solid phalanx of Jacksonism in Tennessee.

Crockett's defection rendered nugatory for many years the attempt to get the West Tennessee lands for the schools.[27] The attempt is interesting, however, both because of the circumstances behind it in Tennessee, and as a part of a common movement for education which led many states to ask for grants of land. The broadening of the question in Tennessee to a national basis is revealed in a resolution which was introduced in the Tennessee assembly of 1829, but was not adopted until 1831. This resolution urged that all the vacant lands of the United States might be sold at graduated prices, and the receipts constitute a fund for education to be divided among the states and territories as might be equal and just.[28]

Thus in the history of the public lands of Tennessee there were two opposing tendencies: one looked to the revenue of the state from the sale of its lands, and the appropriation of this revenue to state banking capital, internal improvements, educational institutions of higher or lower grade, or other state enterprises; on the other hand, the interest of the poorer settlers and the desire to increase rapidly the population of the state appeared in the liberality towards the occupant and in the suggestion of free grants of land. The plan of selling at graduated prices exhibited a combination of the two principles: it was claimed that more land would

[26] Letters of Polk, Judge White and others, in Polk MSS., Library of Congress.

[27] After many further applications by Tennessee the lands were finally given to the state by Congress, by the Acts of 1841, ch. 7, and 1846, ch. 92. 5 *U. S. Statutes*, p. 412, and 9, p. 66.

[28] Acts of Tennessee, 1831, resolution no. 15.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

be sold to individuals, and there would be no less revenue. On the stage of national politics the same ideas, the same opposition, the same suggestion of compromise, appeared in larger form,[29] with an additional matter for contention in the proposal that the proceeds of the sales of the public domain be distributed to the states. It was in the Jackson period that the land policy of the country became of fresh importance, and Jackson's own opinions were clearly stated in his annual message of December 4, 1832, and in his veto message of one year later.

In the debate over Foot's resolution—which to the West was by no means "apparently harmless"—Felix Grundy, one of the senators from Tennessee, declared that he was willing to adopt a policy of graduating the price of the public lands, and, with regard to actual settlers, to go as far as any man in or out of the Senate. It was "good policy to convert Eastern tenants into Western freeholders". He would not limit this to those already in occupation, but give all citizens who would settle on the surveyed lands a quarter section at fifty cents an acre, provided they would remain on the lands two years and raise two crops on it. What his colleague, Colonel Crockett, of the other House, called "refuse land", he would—after all the good land had been sold—relinquish to the states.[30] In this the connection between the state and the national questions is obvious, as is also the tendency towards cheaper land-prices and away from the idea of revenue. The logical outcome of this tendency, so much urged by Benton, and so long delayed by bitter strife, was the Homestead legislation of later years.

II. The Tennessee Banks and the Nashville Branch of the Bank of the United States, 1817–1829.

In the rush towards the extension of banking which followed the War of 1812, many new banks were established in Tennessee, and the capital and the branches of the old ones were increased. The old banks were two in number, the Nashville Bank and the Bank of the State of Tennessee at Knoxville. The latter was most creditably managed under the presidency of Hugh Lawson White, but after White entered the Senate of the United States the business of the numerous branches (including one at Nashville) was closed, and that of the parent bank was relatively not important. Nashville was the centre of financial as well as political power.

When the flush times after the war were followed by the panic

[29] Turner, *Rise of the New West*, pp. 141–143, 286.

[30] *Congressional Debates*, April 2, 1830, vol. VI., part I., p. 212.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of 1819, the newly established banks in Tennessee broke, and the Nashville Bank and the branch of the Knoxville Bank located at Nashville suspended specie payments. Like other Western states, Tennessee was becoming rapidly settled and was speculating largely in lands, and in the reaction suffered severely. As elsewhere it was claimed that the pressure came from the outside rather than from conditions within the state, and the responsibility was laid at the door of the Second Bank of the United States. Upon the merits of this latter institution, when it first began operations and when it was proposed to establish a branch in Nashville, opinion was strongly divided. Felix Grundy with other citizens of Nashville was very solicitous for a branch; but the opposition was too strong, and the legislature levied a tax of $50,000 on banking institutions not chartered by the state. Even after this law had been passed, the promoters of the branch scheme did not give up hope, but the bank preferred to test the constitutionality of such laws in other states, and Tennessee was left to wait ten years for a branch.

Meanwhile, stirred by the disasters of 1819, Felix Grundy effected a combination with the warm-hearted governor, Joseph McMinn, and in 1820 the legislature was called in special session to add some further measure of "relief" to the "stay" laws which had been passed the year before. This originally appeared in the form of a "Loan-Office", but before the legislature had finished its work, it had substituted the second "Bank of the State of Tennessee". In some accounts of this institution, the impression is given that it was copied after the similar state bank of Kentucky. The reverse is true: this Tennessee bank preceded both that in Kentucky and that in Missouri. Its charter was distinctly a sectional measure, carried through by the western votes against the intense oppositon of East Tennessee; even in the west there was a strong element against the bank. Into the debate over the matter burst Andrew Jackson, who for some time had not taken any active part in the politics of the state, but who now used every effort to kill the bank fathered by Grundy—a situation amusingly in contrast with the relations of the two in later days. Answering a letter from Lewis in which that cautious politician had remonstrated against the general's heat, and had remarked that he saw no difference between the land-office and the bank, so far as constitutionality was concerned, Jackson wrote:

> You know my opinion as to the Banks, that is, that the constitution of our State, as well as the constitution of the United States prohibited the Establishment of Banks in any state,—and that such a thing as loan

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

offices by a state for the purpose of creating a fund out of the property of the State for the payment of individual debts certainly is a power not granted by any provisions of the state constitution, and is unheard of, and prohibited by the principles of general Justice to the people: if even the constitution would permit it.[31]

Continuing, he says that matters might be so arranged as to "enable the Banks to lend more relief than this wicked law will do to the distressed—for in my opinion it will relieve none—the notes must depreciate, its credit will sink, and the farmers will not receive it—it will destroy our credit abroad. No merchant will be credited abroad and every cent of current money in the state will be shut up, this law destroying all confidence at home between man and man." He hopes to prevent the passage of the loan-office bill but "be that as it may, it will as long as I live meet my opposition."

The special purpose of the new state bank, as outlined in its charter,[32] was to relieve the distresses of the community and to improve the revenue of the state. The method for reaching these desirable ends was, in brief, to lend to poor debtors, on mortgages, small sums of money in bills based on revenue to be derived from land-sales in the Hiwassee District. The state's ordinary revenue was also pledged, and the bank was made the depositary of the state. The bank started in the midst of a general suspension of specie payments; and the bills were made payable not only for all taxes due to the state and to the counties, but also for all interest payments to the colleges and academies from those who owed them money for lands. Agents were appointed in the several counties to loan out the bills to those who wished them. Provision was made for an issue of state stock to the amount of $250,000; but none was issued. Stay of execution for debt for the period of two years was permitted unless these bills were accepted by the creditor; a provision which was nullified by a decision of the supreme court of the state in 1821.[33]

Such, in outline, were the main features of this bank. It began operations with the return of good crops and general prosperity, and, under the management of conscientious directors and the jealous surveillance of Governor Carroll, for some time pursued a conservative course. With this bank, the Nashville Bank and the branch of the Bank of Tennessee (of Knoxville), Nashville and

[31] Ford MSS., Lenox Library, New York. This letter is printed in *Bulletin of the New York Public Library,* IV. 189–190.

[32] Act of 1820, chs, 7, 8, July 25, 1820.

[33] Townsend *vs.* Townsend, 1821, *Peck's Reports,* p. 1. The case really referred to the stay-law of 1819.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

West Tennessee were at least sufficiently provided with banking facilities. Yet in five years there was apparently room for another bank, this time a private institution conducted by Messrs. Yeatman, Woods and Company. As the summer of 1826 approached, the banks, spurred on by Governor Carroll and the legislature, made ready to resume. On September 1, 1826, all the banks did resume;[34] but trouble was ahead, and very soon banking matters were again brought into the forefront of state politics. In less than three months, the evils of the enormous amount of notes formerly issued resulted in a run on the Nashville Bank which withdrew $260,000 of its funds; and it was obliged once more to suspend.[35] After several years its affairs were adjusted. Meanwhile it transacted no further business.

This catastrophe, in 1826, was followed however by a new development, or rather the reappearance of an old one, to which we must now turn. Whether *post hoc* in this case really means *propter hoc* is not certain; but just after the suspension of the Nashville Bank, a bill was begun in the legislature (then in called session) to repeal the Act of 1817 which had effected the exclusion of the Bank of the United States.

In Professor Catterall's *History of the Second Bank of the United States* there are cited two letters from McIlvaine, cashier of the bank at Philadelphia, to Nicholas Biddle, which state that Colonel William Robinson of Pittsburgh, who was in Nashville while the debate over the repeal of the law of 1817 was in progress, positively declared that General Jackson had done everything in his power to prevent the repeal of the law, and that the repeal was carried in one of the houses by one vote.[36] The journals of the legislature then sitting recount at least one visit by General Jackson, for on November 12 the House adjourned "to gratify the wishes of the favorite of Tennessee".[37] In the Lower House, the bill to repeal the Act of 1817 passed its second reading by a vote of 24 to 12.[38] No special exhibition of sectionalism appeared in this, except that the middle and western sections of the state with their larger vote were in favor of repeal while East Tennessee was evenly divided. Nor were any party lines evident, as Jackson men voted on both sides. On the third reading there does not even seem to have been a division.[39] In the senate, however, the case was different. Here the

[34] *Nashville Banner and Whig,* September 2, 1826.
[35] *Ibid.,* November 18, 1826.
[36] Catterall, *The Second Bank of the United States,* p. 183, note.
[37] *House Journal,* 1826, p. 132.
[38] *Ibid.,* pp. 172–173.
[39] *Ibid.,* p. 227.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

vote on the second reading was 11 to 8,[40] and on the third, 10 to 9.[41] This seems to bear out McIlvaine's statement, but there is no mention in the papers of any personal effort of Jackson to stop the repeal. Nor is there any suggestion of hostility on the part of the bank towards Jackson. The negative arguments were the old ones of 1819—the ownership of the stock by Europeans, the buying up of property in Frankfort and Cincinnati, the failure to bring specie to the West. What Tennessee needed was real capital, not ideal capital. The branches were not banks, but brokers' offices. It was better to have Yeatman, Woods and Company than a president from the Eastern states.[42] On the other side Gibbs, who introduced and supported the bill, used chiefly commercial arguments. He tried to explain the operations of a branch, and to show that it would facilitate commerce, especially in affording exchange on Philadelphia, for which it was necessary now to draw money from the Tennessee banks and to go to Louisville. He emphasized the well-known unconstitutionality of such laws as those he wished repealed. He declared that more banking capital was needed. The $400,000 of Nashville Bank paper would be withdrawn. The remaining circulation would be that of the State Bank in Nashville, about $175,000, Yeatman, Woods and Company, $100,000, the old State Bank (at Knoxville), $100,000; in all $375,000. He calculated the specie as equal to $200,000. The state exported every year $2,000,000 in produce; without the proposed branch, there would be altogether too little capital.[43]

In the early part of 1827, the branch began operations. Little is heard of its activities during the next months. The legislature of 1826, which had repealed the prohibition of 1817, had devoted far more time to a measure "to prevent the depreciation of the Nashville Bank paper in the hands of the good people of the state".[44] The same matter was still under discussion when the assembly met a year later.[45]

Throughout 1828 and the early part of 1829, the campaign and its aftermath filled the columns of the newspapers. The flurry of discontent that greeted the announcement of Jackson's cabinet appointments, and the protests of prominent Tennesseans like Pleasant M. Miller were discussed in the papers, but curiously little is said

[40] *Senate Journal*, 1826, pp. 164–165.
[41] *Ibid.*, pp. 188–189.
[42] *Nashville Banner and Whig*, November 25, 1826.
[43] *Ibid.*
[44] Act of 1826, ch. 41.
[45] Act of 1827, ch. 47.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

about banking in the state, and nothing about the Bank of the United States. In the summer of 1829, however, the entire failure of a member of the bar was announced, and it was added that this involved a number of citizens in difficulty. The bankruptcy was attributed to speculations, endorsements and the purchase of real estate.[46] This was early in June. Two weeks later the quiet was broken by a violent attack upon the branch of the United States Bank in Nashville.

As the Nashville Bank had now withdrawn from active business, and the Bank of the State—as would appear a little later—was upon the verge of a similar fate, the Nashville branch had already had an opportunity for rapid expansion which it was not slow to embrace. The very quiet concerning its affairs thus far is explicable chiefly on the basis of its generosity in making loans. However this might be, now, in the middle of June, 1829, in a series of letters addressed to "the cultivators of the soil and the laboring people of Tennessee" Justice Catron of the supreme court of Tennessee advanced the proposal, somewhat startling as coming from a lawyer, that no one should be bound for the debt or default of another by writing or otherwise, an exception being made in the case of suretyships entered into in courts of justice.[47]

One would suspect that something lay behind such a proposition from such a source; and the letters of Catron clearly show that his real purpose was to denounce the excessive loans and the yet more excessive usury of the branch bank at Nashville. Such usury, he declared, amounted to 10 per cent. per month. Apart from general rhetorical denunciation of the practice of endorsing for others, Catron's more specific allegations were as follows. The bank, he said, drew from Tennessee $170,000 a year in interest, which never returned. This was taxation without representation. It could own in property $20,000,000, as much as was paid for Louisiana, and could sweep into its vaults all the coin in the country. This was irresponsible power. Its enormous capital was exempt from taxation. The bonus paid for the charter was not an equivalent for this, and was amply compensated for by the bank's right to wield twenty millions of fictitious capital, by its power to buy up the people's houses and land, and by its possession of twenty millions a year of the government's deposits.

But the most interesting points brought forward by Justice Catron remain to be told. First should be noted his statement of the

[46] *Nashville Banner and Whig*, June 2, 1829.
[47] *Ibid.*, June 16, 26, 30, July 3, 1829.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

inflation brought about by the branch in Nashville. The branch had been established two years, and had in that time loaned upwards of $2,000,000. This charge was made by others, and in the light of later developments may be regarded as true.

Secondly, Catron urged that no one could deny that the most momentous political question before the people was that of rechartering the bank. The charter expired March 3, 1836; the corporation's "immense anxiety" to have it renewed was known. Members of the assembly were to be elected in August and a senator in September. A resolution might be brought into the next assembly, requesting the Tennessee representatives to vote against the recharter. Hence the necessity that every one's mind should be fixed.

In the third place, Catron declared that all this was not newly thought of, but was of long standing. "Some of us, gentlemen, have for years been pledged to stand together boldly and firmly, when the day should arrive for the execution of a policy new in these States, and which is to be great in effect, I grant, but we have counted the cost." To this point we shall recur later.

Lastly, in a note to one of his letters, he urged, that if a bank were necessary it should be national in principle and not in name only, and suggested a plan for such a bank.[48]

Catron's radical suggestions regarding "securityships" met with no support from others and indeed played a small part in his later letters; but his attack on the usurious practices and the excessive loans of the branch bank was backed up by several others. On the other side the most able writer, "Haywood", attacked Catron bitterly. He denied that such proposals had been long considered or had authority. On the contrary they were of recent concoction. The scheme was a political dodge of Catron and another individual to affect the elections. Regarding this project, "Haywood" said:

> Call to mind that General Jackson is very hostile to the Bank of the United States, and has expressed sentiments very similar to those con-

[48] Letter in *Nashville Banner* of July 3. The directors should be appointed by the President and Senate, and Congress should have an annual visitation by committee and authority to correct abuses. Branches should be established on petition of the legislatures of the states, but should have a capital equal only to the amount of the stock subscribed to the mother bank by the state and the citizens thereof. The directors of the branches should be appointed by the legislatures, as in the state banks, and, if these failed to appoint, by the President and Senate. If the bank violated its charter, a quo warranto should be employed. The individual stock in the mother bank should pay a reasonable tax to the United States, and that of the branches, to the states, the rate to be fixed in the charter. Compare with this Felix Grundy's letter to Andrew Jackson, October 22, 1829, Jackson MSS., Library of Congress.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tained in the famous postscript to one of the essays respecting the details and management of the branches if they must be introduced into the States; and that in the course of the present administration some additional federal judges will probably be appointed by the President by and with the advice of the Senate.

Catron was looking in this direction, and, if this failed, the state courts would be reorganized and Catron might become chief justice.[49] "Haywood" was at least a good prophet.

When in September the assembly met, the discussion of Catron's letters was still in full swing. Soon, however, the legislature's interest was diverted to other matters, especially to the condition of the State Bank. The Bank of the United States did not, however, escape attention. At the very first, the acting governor, William Hall, referred to the condition of the currency and condemned usury and the excessive rates of note-shavers. In a rather noncommittal way he then proceeded to remark that there was some dissatisfaction with the influence and tendencies of the Branch Bank of the United States. The amount of stock held by Tennesseans was limited.[50] A week later there was received the first report for this year from the Bank of the State. The statistics of this report we may omit; but it must be noted that the officers complained of the pressure upon all the local institutions by the establishment of the Branch Bank of the United States. This pressure was believed to be due to the policy of the mother bank, requiring the branches to discount on their own paper exclusively. An effort had been made by the directors to have this requirement dispensed with, but it had been unavailing, despite the good will of the president and directors of the branch at this place.[51]

Carroll, the new governor, said nothing about the branch; but in the assembly resolutions were introduced against the Bank of the United States. That which finally passed and appears on the statute-book premised that the extension of the charter of the United States Bank was "not consistent with sound policy", and instructed the senators and requested the representatives of Tennessee to vote against such extension, if it should be attempted before the next session of the general assembly. Meanwhile this resolution was to be printed with the acts in order that the people might be informed and instruct their representatives.[52]

Thus, in rather conservative tones, was the first official criticism

[49] Letters of "Haywood", *Nashville Banner and Whig*, August 21, 28, September 29, 1829.

[50] *Senate Journal*, 1829, September 21.

[51] *Ibid.*, September 28.

[52] Acts of Tennessee, 1829, resolution no. 19.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of the Bank of the United States set forth in Tennessee. Of the "Bank War", though it belongs to national politics, this much may be said. The developments in Tennessee thus far described—Catron's letters, the discussion of them, the introduction of the hostile resolution—took place before the President's message of December, 1829, had reached Tennessee. We know now that Jackson had intended to raise the question as to the bank in his inaugural address, but upon advice waited till his first annual message.[53] The query that then suggests itself is this: Was Catron's attack merely a self-initiated measure to further his own political interests, or was it a move on the part of that practised band of politicians around Jackson to test the sentiment of Tennessee and confirm the ideas already entertained by Jackson by enlarging on the dangers that were appearing in the course pursued by the bank in Tennessee? Catron, without doubt, was close to Jackson and his advisers: he did soon become chief justice in Tennessee, and later gave support to the President in the strife over the removal of the Cherokee Indians. Whether the latter hypothesis be true or not, the controversy that we have related at least makes it certain that Jackson's hostility to the bank, and, moreover, his wish for some reorganization, were already well known in Tennessee. On the other hand, that the sentiment of the state against the bank was not at this time strong or decided is easily discernible in the spirited answers to Catron, in the reticence of Governor Hall, in the moderate form of the assembly's resolution, in the comment of the *Banner and Whig*, a few weeks later, in that part of Jackson's message which referred to the bank, *viz.*, that it was premature, but that it was just as well for the issue to be stated early in order that both friends and foes might know of it,[54] and finally in the ease with which a bank party was later developed.[55]

Before bringing this paper to a close, we must revert briefly to the Bank of the State of Tennessee, which at our last mention of it was declaiming against the branch in Nashville. The days of this institution were numbered: its commercial business was small, and it had only about $40,000 of notes in circulation.[56] In his first

[53] Polk's inquiry (in 1833) as to this point, and Jackson's definite answer, indorsed in his own writing upon the back of Polk's letter, are in the Polk MSS. in the Library of Congress.

[54] *Nashville Banner and Whig*, December 18, 1829.

[55] Jackson was kept informed of the iniquities of the branch. A letter of A. Balch to Jackson dated Nashville, January 8, 1830, comments on the extravagance fostered by the branch. "What now remains of the wreck produced by these splendid follies will after a few years be seized by the Mammoth Bank." Jackson MSS., Library of Congress.

[56] Report of Bank, *Senate Journal*, 1829, September 28.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

message, Governor Carroll had thoroughly analyzed its shortcomings and had strongly urged that its affairs be wound up at once.[57] The assembly proceeded to a searching examination, and soon found that there were evidences of mismanagement, not only at the agencies, but at the principal bank. The cashier, finding himself under suspicion, made off with the books of the bank, and refused to give them up, declaring he would rather suffer imprisonment than reveal the names of those whom, he maintained, he had permitted to overdraw, but who were perfectly good. In order to get the books, the committee had suspended prosecution. A subcommittee had examined these books, but as some accounts had not been posted or balanced for eighteen months or two years, an investigation would be impossible at this session.[58]

This disastrous failure of the State Bank came at a most inopportune time politically. The *Lynchburg Virginian* did not miss the chance to allege that Parrish, the defaulting cashier, was the agent of the Nashville "white-washing" committee and was suffering in silence to protect those whom he had helped with the bank's funds. Jackson had come to the rescue, sending $125,000 from Washington, which he had saved out of his first year's salary. The *Nashville Republican* retorted with scorn that both Jackson and Adams men were among those who had overdrawn, that Parrish's attorney was an Adams man, that the cashier's favors had been personal, not political, and that not even Jackson could save $125,000 out of a $25,000 salary.[59]

There was indeed a good deal of mystery about the matter; but more important than the alleged scandal was the fact that the bank was wound up. Thereby, save for the relatively small competition of Yeatman, Woods and Company, an open field was left to the branch bank. This pursued its generous policy some time longer,[60] in spite of remonstrance from the principal bank. Later the attempt was made to contract, and this, as always, quickly raised enemies. Meanwhile there were projects for a new state bank.

The interesting continuation of this subject through the next decade of political strife must be deferred to another occasion. In this paper—to summarize—it has been shown, first, that the ad-

[57] Carroll's message, *Senate Journal,* October 5.

[58] Report of Committee, *ibid.,* 1830, January 14.

[59] *Nashville Republican,* April 23, 1830, citing the *Lynchburg Virginian* of March 25. The two papers wrangled over the matter for some weeks.

[60] See Polk's minority report of March 2, 1833, *House Reports,* no. 121, 22 Cong., 2 sess.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ministration of the public lands within the state was a matter of vital interest to Tennessee, both as to the methods of sale and still more with reference to the conflicting interests of the schools and the occupants; and secondly, that these local issues established for Tennessee a distinct point of view in the discussion of the national questions of the same sort, involving the fundamental opposition of the idea of revenue and the idea of speedy settlement. With regard to banking, it has been demonstrated that Tennessee was again typical of the West, undergoing painful experiments with state banks, speculation and stay-laws. Secondly, though originally predisposed to hostility against the Bank of the United States, Tennessee, or rather the dominant western portion of the state, was yet quite willing to accept the benefits of a branch of the great bank, so long as times were good and credit was easy, and only gradually listened to and joined in the attack on that institution, which was begun in the year of Jackson's inauguration. Finally, all the evidence from Tennessee sources seems to give support to the belief of recent writers that the "Bank War" was of Jackson's own making, the outcome of an old and deep-rooted aversion to corporate money-power and inflated credit, rather than the result of any particular circumstances of party strife immediately connected with his election to the presidency.

St. George Leakin Sioussat.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

DOCUMENTS

Letters of Sir George Simpson, 1841–1843.

THE documents printed herewith were copied from papers preserved in the Public Record Office at London. All except the first are from the pen of Sir George Simpson; that one, a letter from Sir John Pelly to Lord Aberdeen, is included because it makes an admirable introduction for the Simpson letters, besides possessing a distinct historical value of its own.

These papers stand at the beginning of an extended series of Hudson's Bay Company documents which, during the years 1842 to 1846, found their way into the archives of the British government. The Oregon boundary controversy was in its final stages, negotiations between Great Britain and the United States on that subject being practically continuous from the date of Lord Ashburton's mission in the spring of 1842 to June, 1846, when the treaty defining the northern boundary of Oregon was concluded. The Foreign Office was therefore obliged to keep itself posted relative to conditions in the disputed territory, and since the Hudson's Bay Company represented the only important British interest there, and maintained a regular communication between London and the Columbia River, the reports and letters of their agents stationed in Oregon and of other agents who, like Simpson, paid official visits to the country, would naturally assume in the eyes of the government a unique importance. Accordingly, Governor Pelly, of the Hudson's Bay Company, usually forwarded such matter to the Foreign Office.[1] Pelly seems to have done this voluntarily, perhaps in consequence of a general understanding with Lord Aberdeen. Once only, so far as the records show, did the government specifically ask him for information; that was in February, 1845, when the exigencies of diplomacy rendered it necessary for them to obtain without delay the latest advices as to the comparative strength of the British and American settlements in the Oregon country.

[1] On July 18, 1846, the Hudson's Bay Company enclosed to the Foreign Office a list of the documents forwarded since the date of Pelly's letter printed herewith. The list, which is incomplete, includes the descriptions of fourteen documents, some of them of considerable length. Copies of these were brought away by the writer, with the permission of the Foreign Office, and they are now preserved, with other documents bearing on the Oregon question found in the British Archives, in the library of the University of Oregon.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Simpson letter of March 10, 1842, written from Honolulu, differs from all the other Hudson's Bay documents in that it is virtually the report of a government agent after a careful examination of the affairs of the Pacific Coast and islands. Simpson is here writing not for the purpose of giving information to his company about trade conditions, but to inform the government about conditions affecting British interests and prospects in Oregon, in California and in the Sandwich Islands. True, his commission emanated from Lord Palmerston, and his report, quite in keeping with the bold and high-handed diplomacy of that minister, passed into the hands of Lord Aberdeen, a man of very different character. Yet there is abundant evidence to prove that Simpson's recommendations received serious attention. The present writer believes that this letter was one chief cause of the new interest which from that time the government manifested in the settlement of the Oregon question on the one hand, and in the political destiny of California and the Sandwich Islands on the other. As regards the islands, Simpson's visit not only synchronizes with the important political developments connected with the Hawaiian mission to the great powers in 1842–1843, but, according to these documents, Simpson suggested that mission to Tamehameha III. and got himself appointed one of the king's envoys.

JOSEPH SCHAFER.

I. LETTER OF SIR JOHN H. PELLY TO THE EARL OF ABERDEEN.[2]

HUDSON'S BAY HOUSE, 23rd January, 1843.

My Lord:

I some time ago had the honor of laying before your Lordship a despatch from Sir George Simpson, dated Woahoo[3] the 10th March last, respecting the Columbia River, California and the Sandwich Islands, which your Lordship returned to me on the 27th August.

At an interview which you favored me with when delivering that communication, I apprised your Lordship that Sir G. Simpson, filling the office of Governor of the Hudson's Bay Company's Territories, was then occupied on a survey of inspection of the Company's settlements and on several business arrangements, rendering it necessary for him to cross the continent of America from Canada to the outlet of the Columbia River; to visit California, the Sandwich Islands, the Russian settlements on the North West Coast of America; thence to cross the Northern Pacific to Ochotsk and to return via Siberia and Russia to England:—and that soon after his arrival in this country, I should do

[2] Sir John Pelly was governor of the Hudson's Bay Company; Lord Aberdeen was secretary of state for the foreign department. The manuscript of the letter is in "Foreign Office, America, 399; Domestic, Various, January to March, 1843".

[3] Oahu.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

myself the honor of communicating to your Lordship any further information I might collect from Sir George's Reports, in reference to the countries he had visited, which I might consider likely to be interesting to your Lordship.

In pursuance of that intention I now hand to your Lordship annexed, extracts from Sir George Simpson's despatch dated Vancouver (Columbia River) 25th November, 1841, wherein he reports on the character of some parts of the North American Continent through which he passed;—on the settlement by British subjects and citizens of the United States, of the country on the Banks of the Columbia River, designated in the United States "the Oregon Territory", the conflicting claims to which of Great Britain and the United States form a leading feature of the last message of the President:—on the visit of the United States Discovery Expedition, under the command of Commodore Wilkes, to the Columbia River; on the navigation and prospects of trade of that part of the country and of the North West Coast from the mouth of the Columbia River up to Lat. 54 degrees, 40′, the southern Russian boundary:—and on the trade and establishments of the Russian American Company to the northward of that point.

I further beg to draw your Lordship's attention to the annexed extracts from Sir George's despatch dated Woahoo, 1st March 1842, and to his letter dated Lahaina 24th March, wherein he notices several points not mentioned in his letter of the 10th March in reference to California, its commerce and capabilities, likewise in reference to the trade of the Sandwich Islands and to communications he had with the King and government of these Islands;—and I have likewise to draw your Lordship's attention to extracts from that gentleman's despatches dated Ochotsk 6th July and London 16th November, on the whale fishery of the Northern Pacific, on the trade of the Russian American Company, and narrating the leading features of his travels from New Archangel - - - through Siberia and Russia.

On taking his departure from the Sandwich Islands, Sir George was charged with a letter from Tamahameha III. and Kaukauluohi, the King and Queen Regent of these Islands, addressed to Her Majesty, which I now beg to forward to your Lordship. After writing that letter the Sandwich Islands government came to the determination of sending their principal adviser, or Prime Minister, Mr. William Richards (an American subject who was previously occupied as a missionary at those Islands) in the capacity of envoy to Europe, as noticed in Sir George's letter of 24th March. By a letter of recent date from Mr. Richards, I learn he left the Sandwich Islands in August accompanied by a native chief, Haalilio, for this country, passing by Mexico and the United States, and that he may be expected here from day to day; and as Mr. Richards will in all probability be regulated by the opinion and advice of Mr. Colvile, Sir G. Simpson and myself, as to the mode of conveying to your Lordship the object of his mission, I shall in the meantime be glad if your Lordship would favor me with your instructions on that head.

Sir George Simpson is now in London and will in the course of a few weeks hence be prepared to take his departure for Canada and the interior of Hudson's Bay, and as he may be possessed of further information than is conveyed in the accompanying extracts, in reference to the countries through which he has been travelling, which might be

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

interesting to your Lordship, I beg that your Lordship will be pleased to favor me with an interview accompanied by that gentleman.

I have the honor to be,
My Lord,
Yr. Lordship's mo. obedt. Humb. Svt.
J. H. Pelly Gov.

The Right Honorable,
The Earl of Aberdeen.

II. Extracts from Dispatch of Sir George Simpson to the Governor, Deputy Governor, and Committee of the Hudson's Bay Company, dated Fort Vancouver, November 25, 1841.[4]

Par. 2.

. . . From Fort Colvile we descended the Columbia River by boat, touching at Okanogan and Walla Walla and arrived at Fort Vancouver on the 25th August.[5] . . .

Par. 4.

After crossing the mountains the first permanent establishment I visited was Fort Colvile, which is intended to protect and collect the trade of the upper Columbia, and of the Kootenai and Flathead countries which lie to the north and east of that post. I am concerned to say the returns are gradually diminishing from year to year; this arises from no want of attention to the management of the district, but from the exhausted state of the country, which has been closely wrought for many years without any intermission. In the present unsettled state of the boundary line it would be impolitic to make any attempt to preserve or recruit this once valuable country, as it would attract the attention of the American trappers, so that there is little prospect of any amendment taking place in its affairs. Here there are many extensive tracts of country well adapted for colonization and at Colvile there is an excellent farm, yielding bountiful harvests of maize, wheat, and other crops.

Par. 10.

There is not at present any organized trapping expedition belonging to the United States employed in the Snake country, although there are several straggling parties, the debris of former expeditions. One of these parties headed by a Mr. Frabb[6] was this season cut off by a party of Scioux, . . . The operations of these trappers being principally confined to the American territory east of the mountains and to the country situated to the southward of Lewis and Clark's River, and eastward of the Buenaventura Valley it cannot be said that they interfere injuriously with us in any shape.

Par. 12.

Resuming the narrative of our voyage—We took our departure from Walla Walla, remaining there but a few hours, and on the 25th August arrived at Fort Vancouver, where the intermittent fever was prevailing as usual at this season of the year. Besides the officers and people belonging to this establishment, I here found Commodore Wilkes, Cap-

[4] Foreign Office, America, 399; Domestic, Various, January to March, 1843.

[5] They left Red River July 3.

[6] Henry Fraeb. See Chittenden, *History of the American Fur Trade in the Far West*, I. 260.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tain Hudson, and other officers of the United States Discovery Expedition. Three of the five discovery vessels were on the river, say, the *Porpoise* sloop of war, the *Flying Fish,* tender; and the *Oregon* (Capt. Thomas Perkins) store ship. The *Peacock* sloop of war had been totally lost on the Columbia bar, a few weeks previous to my arrival, but the officers and crew were providentially saved, and the *Vincennes* corvette, had proceeded from Puget Sound direct to San Francisco, there to await the arrival of Commodore Wilkes, with the other vessels. The expedition was preceded here by the schooner *Wave,* with supplies from the Sandwich Islands for its use. The *Wave,* it will be recollected was the same vessel that had been chartered by the Hon^ble^ Company in the month of November last, for the transport of goods to the Sandwich Islands, and had been rechartered from thence by Commodore Wilkes, for the transport of the supplies in question to the Columbia.

Par. 13.

This expedition was despatched by the United States Government in 1838[7] . . . the N. W. coast of America, touching at Puget Sound and the Columbia, from whence they intended proceeding to California—thence to the Sandwich Islands: thence to the East Indies, and thence home via Cape of Good Hope. While the expedition was with us, they surveyed the coast from Puget Sound to Fraser's River, made some partial surveys in the Straits of Juan de Fuca, and between Cape Flattery and the mouth of the Columbia. They likewise surveyed the Columbia River from the bar to the Cascade Portage, and the Willamette up to the Falls. They moreover made excursions in the interior, crossing from Puget's Sound to Okanogon, and visiting Forts Colvile and Nez Percé; crossed the Cowlitz portage, and closely examined the country on the banks of the Willamette, forwarding a land party through the Buenaventura Valley to San Francisco.[8]

Par. 14.

Every civility and attention were shewn to Commodore Wilkes and his officers, and such facilities afforded them for prosecuting the objects of the expedition as our means would admit, and it is satisfactory to be enabled to say that the Commodore seemed fully to appreciate the attentions shewn to himself, and his officers, as will appear from a letter addressed to Chief Factors McLoughlin and Douglas, copy of which is herewith forwarded. Both at the Sandwich Islands and the Columbia, likewise at Puget Sound, the Expedition received supplies from the Hon^ble^ Company's stores, amounting at this place to £3,500, and at the Islands to £——, for which they paid by drafts as advised in the 62 paragraph.

Par. 15.

Learning that the *Beaver* steamer was, agreeably to previous arrangement, in readiness at Puget Sound to convey me to the North West Coast on a tour of inspection of the posts in that quarter, and on a visit to the Russian American Company's principal depot at Sitka, I took my departure from Fort Vancouver (after a stay there of six

[7] He traces the movements of the expedition through the southern seas, where it made many discoveries, to the Sandwich Islands.

[8] All of the above paragraph is quoted in the extracts from Simpson's letter of November 25, 1841, which accompany his letter of March 10, 1842, in Foreign Office, America, 388; the paragraph was emphasized by means of a line drawn along the margin.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

days) on the 1st of September, accompanied by Chief Factor Douglas; touched at the pastoral establishment on Multnomah Island, ascended the Cowlitz River, visited the Puget Sound Company's tillage farm at the head of that river, crossed the Cowlitz portage to Nisqually, a distance of from 55 to 60 miles, and reached that establishment on the evening of the 4th.
Par. 16.

Starting from Nisqually . . . on the 6th September, we proceeded northwards between Vancouver's Island and the mainland, passing through the Gulf of Georgia, Johnston's Strait, Queen Charlotte's Sound, and inside Calvert's Island to Fort McLoughlin, situated on an island near Mill Bank Sound (the position of which is in Lat. 52°, 6′, Long. 132°, 16′) where we arrived on the 15th of September, having of the ten days occupied in getting from Nisqually to Fort McLoughlin been detained wood cutting, trading with the Quakeolths and Newettee Tribes, and wind and fog bound about half the time.

Fort McLoughlin is principally maintained on country provisions, say, fish in great abundance and variety, venison and potatoes; and the natives who were at one time troublesome are now comparatively peaceable towards the establishment, more from a feeling that they are to a certain extent in our power, than from any good disposition towards us.
Par. 16.

We took our departure from Fort McLoughlin on the 16th and passing through Princess Royal and Grenville Canals, and Chatham Sound, arrived at Fort Simpson the following day. This establishment which is the most important on the coast, is situated in about Lat. 54°, 34′, Long. 130°, 38′ near Dundas Island, and close upon the Russian Southern Boundary. It is visited by a great many Indians occupying the Islands and continental shores to a considerable distance—among whom are the inhabitants of 5 villages on the mainland, likewise by the natives of Queen Charlotte's Island by the inhabitants of Tomgas and by those of Kygarnie, one of the islands forming the Prince of Wales's Archipelago (Russian Territory) in all a population of about 14,000 souls.

There is a complement of two officers and 18 men at this post, where the means of living are abundant, consisting principally of fish, venison, and potatoes, and a large body of Chimseeans have seated themselves down in the neighborhood as the home guards of the post. In any point of view this is a valuable and important establishment and ought to be maintained as the depot of the coast while we have anything to do with its affairs.
Par. 18.

Leaving Fort Simpson on the 18th, we immediately entered within the Russian Southern Boundary, and passing through the Canal de Reveille[9] and Clarence Straits, arrived at Stikine on the 20th. This establishment, of which we obtained possession on the 1st of June last year (1840) under the arrangement of the 6th of February, 1839, is situated on the north end of the Duke of York's Island, near Port Highfield, 4 to 5 miles south of the outlet of the Stikine or Pelly's River, in Lat. 56°, 33′, Long. 134°, 14′, and was in the first instance formed here by the Russian American Company in 1833, with the view of protecting their trade, which they had every reason to suppose would be endangered by the establishment which the Hon^ble^ Company then

[9] Revilla-Gigedo.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

contemplated forming within the British Territory up the Stikine River. The post is frequented by the Secatquonay, who occupy the country about the mouth of the river and the islands contiguous, and running parallel to that part of the coast. It is likewise frequented by the natives of 3 villages situated on the islands, to the trade of which we do not consider that we have any claim under the existing arrangement.

The complement of people at this establishment is two officers and 18 men, which notwithstanding the good disposition shown by the natives cannot with safety be reduced. The post is maintained on fish and venison which are here produced in great abundance from the natives at a very cheap rate.

Par. 19.

We remained at Stikine but a few hours, taking our departure thence on the afternoon of the 20th, and passing through Wrangel's Straits, and Prince Fredericks Sound, arrived at Tacom on the 22nd. This establishment is situated in about Lat. 58°, 4′, Long. 133°, 45′, and was intended to have been placed at the mouth of Tacom River but no favorable situation having been found for an establishment, it was erected on its present site, on the mainland, between two rivers, the Sitka and Tacom, about 15 miles distant from each. It is frequented by a great many Indians occupying the continental shore both to the northward and the southward, likewise by some of the islanders; in all, from 4,000 to 5,000 souls are more or less dependent on this establishment for their supplies.

The complement of people at this establishment is 2 officers and 22 men. It is principally maintained on vensison got here as at the other establishments on the coast at so cheap a rate from the natives, that we absolutely make a profit in our consumption of provisions, the skin of the animal selling for much more than is paid for the whole carcass. Nearly all the returns that are collected at this establishment are brought from the British territory, inland of the Russian line of demarcation running parallel with the coast, and traded by the coast Indians from those inhabiting the interior country, very few being hunted by themselves.

Par. 21.

When the arrangement by which we became possessed of the Russian Territory to the north of 54°[10] was first entered into, it was in contemplation to form a chain of posts along the coast up to the outlet of Cross Sound, and from those establishments to form outposts in the interior under an impression that the country between the coast and the Rocky Mountains was of much greater extent, more numerously inhabited, and more valuable than we have since ascertained it to be. There are only two streams falling into the Ocean between the Russian Southern Boundary and Cape Spencer; those are the Stikine and Tacom Rivers, the former being navigable in seasons of high water for about 40 to 50 miles by the steam vessel, and afterwards by canoes; and the other by small craft only. There is a range of mountains running along the coast, extending inland about 60 miles, beyond which there is a district of level country partially wooded; but as there are few lakes in the interior, it is not supposed that the presence of establishments would tend materially to encrease the quantity of furs at present collected so that all idea of occupying the interior country with

[10] 54° 40′.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

posts during the existence of the present arrangement with the Russians is now abandoned.

Par. 27.

The climate of the N. W. Coast to the northward differs very much from that of the country to the southward of Lat. 49° arising I conceive in addition to the difference in latitude in a great degree from the character of the country, which north of that point is exceedingly mountainous, and the tops of many of the mountains covered with perpetual snows, while north of Stikine glaciers are to be seen in many of the valleys to the water side, and floating ice in several of the Sounds and straits all the year round. From our departure from Red River settlement to the time of our arrival at Stikine we had the finest weather that can well be imagined, but there it became wet and stormy and at Tacom, we were detained, in consequence, three days, starting from thence on the 25th and passing through Stephen Passage, Chatham and Peril Straits, arrived at Sitka on the 26th, where we were received with every mark of attention and kindness by Governor Etholine and other Russian officers at that establishment.

Par. 29.

. . . Their [*i. e.,* the Russian] tariff of trade is nearly the same as ours; but notwithstanding the terms of the convention between Great Britain and Russia of February 1825, I find that a considerable quantity of spirituous liquors is disposed of by them to Indians in barter for both furs and provisions.

We have discontinued the use of this article upon the coast as a medium of barter except in the immediate vicinity of the Russian establishments ever since the Americans [sea farers? seal-fishers?] have withdrawn; and the natives are become so perfectly reconciled to the privation that in the whole course of my travels this season, where the use of it was discontinued, I only heard one inquiry respecting the article of rum. With a view to the well being of the Indian population of the coast, and to guard as much as possible against even the semblance of competition, I suggested to Governor Etholine that the use of spirituous liquors should be discontinued by both parties, on a date that may hereafter be agreed upon previous to the 31st December 1843, and I have much satisfaction in saying that he readily assented to that arrangement.

Par. 32.

The Russian American Company have not yet abandoned their establishment of Bodega in California, being unable to effect a sale of their buildings and stock. Their stock consists principally of sheep, cattle, horses, agricultural implements, etc, all of which has for some time past been offered for sale at the round sum of 30,000 dollars. Gov. Etholine however foreseeing the difficulty of obtaining payment should a sale be effected to any of the people of California, said he should feel disposed to accept a much lower price from the Hudson's Bay Company, and I have no doubt that the whole might be purchased at from 15,000 to 20,000 dollars. The Russian American Company admit they have no title to the soil, beyond what they have acquired by occupation. This the Mexican Govt. does not recognize; but they cannot dislodge them, the Russian force there having usually been 150 men, although now that they are about to withdraw it is reduced to 50. Bodega is not well situated for trade, nor is the country well adapted

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

for agriculture; and as any title the Russian American Company could give us would be of no avail unless backed by a force of 80 to 100 men, I do not see that any good can be obtained by making the purchase on any terms. Under these circumstances, I made him no offer, nor did I encourage the hope of our becoming purchasers.

Par. 35.

On our way back to Fort Vancouver, where we arrived on the 22nd of October, our voyage to and from Sitka and the other establishments already mentioned having occupied fifty-two days, I had another opportunity of visiting the establishments of Nisqually and the Cowlitz Farms, the former of which may be said principally to be occupied, and the latter entirely so, with the affairs of the Puget Sound Company.

Par. 37.

There is a large extent of fine pastoral land in the neighborhood of Nisqually, covered with a tufty nutricious grass peculiar to the country. The soil, however, being light and shingly, is not so well adapted for tillage, but by proper attention it may be improved.

Par. 39.

The Puget Sound Company's principal tillage farm is upon the Cowlitz Portage, at the head of the Cowlitz River, where the soil is productive, being a mixture of sand and decayed vegetable matter. The plain upon which the farm now occupied is situated, contains about 3,000 acres, of which about 1,200 are occupied by the Roman Catholic Mission and six settlers, retired servants of the Company, and the remaining 1,800 acres are occupied by the Puget Sound Company, of which 1,000 acres are under cultivation, which produced this season about 8,000 bushels of wheat, and 4,000 bushels of oats, barley, and pease, besides potatoes. The wheat is of excellent quality, weighing about 68 pounds to the bushel.

Par. 40.

Between the head of the Cowlitz River and the shores of Puget Sound there is a chain of plains, as per the accompanying sketch and description, some of which are well adapted both for tillage and pasture farms, with a considerable quantity of plain country upon the shores of Puget's Sound and Hood's Canal, and upon the banks of the Checuylis [Chehalis] and Black Rivers, very favorable for settlement, the produce of which will find an outlet for a foreign market by the Straits of de Fuca, and from the partial examination that has been made of the southern end of Vancouver's and Whidby's Islands, these likewise appear to be very advantageous situations for colonization and agricultural settlements. The Straits of de Fuca afford a safe and ready access at all seasons to these districts of country, where there are many safe and commodious harbors; and as the climate is healthy, the intermittent fever being unknown in that quarter, there is no doubt that that country will, in due time, become important as regards settlement and commerce, while the country in the vicinity of the coast, bordering on the Columbia and Willamette Rivers, so much spoken of in the United States as the Eldorado of the shores of the Northern Pacific, must from the dangers of the Bar, and the impediments of the navigation, together with its unhealthiness, sink in public estimation.

Par. 41.

On my arrival from the N. W. Coast I found the emigrants from

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Red River safely arrived at Fort Vancouver, amounting in all to 116 souls. Of these 14 heads of families, amounting in all to 77 souls, principally English half breeds, have located at Nisqually and are to hold their farms under the Puget Sound Company on "halves" being provided with sheep, cattle, etc as per agreement entered into pursuant to the directions contained in a letter I wrote to C. F. [Chief Factor] Finlayson by your Honour's direction under date September 12, 1840. The remainder of the party being 7 families containing 38 souls are Canadians and half breeds, who being disinclined to crop the Cowlitz Portage to the seaboard, have been placed near the Cowlitz Farm, where advances will be made to them by the Hudson's Bay Company in seed, agricultural implements, etc. instead of their being placed on farms under the Puget Sound Company, in like manner as the other people; as from their previous habits of life, having devoted more of their time and attention to the chase than to agricultural pursuits, it was not likely they would turn to good account any stock that might be placed in their hands.

C. F. [Chief Factor] Douglas who accompanied some of the settlers in advance of the party, for the purpose of examining the country, speaks of it in such favorable terms that I have no doubt there will be many applications from Red River, and likewise from our retiring servants to settle there.

Par. 46.

The American Missionaries are making more rapid progress in the extension of their establishments and in the improvement of their farms, than in the ostensible objects of their residence in this country, as I cannot learn that they are successful, or taking much pains to be so, in the moral and religious instruction of the natives, who are perfectly bewildered by the variety of doctrines inculcated in this quarter. Their stations are as follows:

Maintained by the American Board of Missionaries [Commissioners] for Foreign Missions, vizt:

1. On the Clear Water River, 12 miles from its confluence with Snake River—Rev. H. H. Spalding and family.

2. On the Clear Water River, 62 miles from its confluence—Rev. Asa B. Smith and family.

3. On the road from Spokan to Colvile, 10 miles from Spokan River —Rev. Cushing Eells, Elkinah Walker and families.

4. On the Walla Walla River, 25 miles south[11] of Fort Nez Percé—Marcus Whitman, M. D., Wm. H. Gray, assist., and families.

METHODIST MISSIONS.

5. On the Willamette River, above Yamhill River—Rev. Jason Lee, Gustavus Hind [Hines], David Leslie, I. L. Babcock, M. D., Abernethy, storekeeper, 7 or 8 artisans and families.

6. Willamette Falls—Rev. A. F. Waller, H. H. Wilson [W. H. Willson], carpenter, and families.

7. Dalles of the Columbia—Rev. Daniel Lee, Rev. H. K. W. Perkins, 2 or 3 mechanics and families.

8. Clatsop Point.—Rev. J. H. Frost, Rev. W. W. Kone and families.

9. Nisqually—Rev. J. P. Richmond, M. D. and family.

[11] This should be "east".

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ROMAN CATHOLIC MISSIONS FROM ST. LOUIS, VIZT.

10. Pendant d'oreille Lake—Rev. Smith,[12] 3 priests, 5 lay brethren.
11. Cowlitz—Rev. Demers.
12. Willamette—Rev. F. N. Blanchet.

From the foregoing statement, it will be seen that the country is studded with missions, from the shores of the Pacific to the skirts of the Rocky Mountains, on the south side of the Columbia River, and that they are endeavoring to extend their influence to the northwards of that stream.

Par. 47.

Besides the missionary establishments, there is a population at the Willamette of 65 persons, Americans and others, who with their families have come to the country by the St. Louis communication, and 61 Canadians, retired servants of the Company, in all, 126 men, principally heads of families, making a population of about 500 souls. All these people have taken possession of tracts of country at pleasure, which they expect to retain under a good title arising from such possession, whenever the boundary question may be determined; and are generally very comfortably settled, bringing portions of their farms gradually under cultivation, and having large stocks of cattle brought from California.

Par. 48.

We have this season purchased from these settlers about 4,000 bushels wheat at 3/ [*i. e.,* three shillings] per bushel, which will be disposed of to advantage by resale, and instead of manifesting any opposition to these people by withholding supplies from them, or putting them to inconvenience in other respects, it is considered good policy to deal with them on such fair and reasonable terms, that no stranger would benefit materially by opposing us in our transactions with them; and with this view, we have it in contemplation to establish a mill for their accommodation on the Falls of the Willamette, which, if ever that settlement grows into importance, will be of great value, as there is a water power there to any extent, which was taken formal possession of on behalf of the Company several years ago, and where a small building has been lately erected, so as to strengthen our claim to it by possession. These settlers, although they possess little capital within themselves, are generally speaking industrious and enterprising; and as the whole deportment of the American part of the community is marked by a strong feeling of nationality, I have no doubt that they will when in a condition to do so, offer such encouragement to their countrymen in the United States or the Sandwich Islands, to import supplies for their use to be repaid in country produce, as may induce some of those speculative people to establish themselves in trade among them. They are now forming a joint stock company for the manufacture and export of flour, and are about to erect a mill on a part of Willamette Falls already spoken of, although C. F. [Chief Factor] McLoughlin had taken possession of it on behalf of the Company some years ago.

The American Methodist Missionaries are the projectors of this association, and are the prime movers in all public or important measures entered upon at the Willamette.

[12] Rev. P. J. de Smet, S. J.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Par. 49.

This little community, considering the materials of which it is composed, is in a more tranquil state than might be expected, one and all being anxious to stand well in public opinion, so that few cases of outrage or atrocity have as yet occurred among them. They are nevertheless prepared to take legal cognizance (under a code of their own formation) of such cases, whenever they occur. This last summer they made strong efforts to form a constitution for themselves, but the Company's influence over the Canadian settlers in a large measure defeated that object, which however ridiculous it may at a distance appear, might nevertheless be here attended with much inconvenience, if these would-be authorities had been enabled to carry their plans of self-government into effect.

Par. 50.

The two Roman Catholic priests, M. Blanchet and M. Demers who were brought into the country under the auspices of the Hon^ble^ Company three years ago, have been very zealous in the discharge of their missionary duties; the former is established at the Willamette, and the latter at the Cowlitz settlement, and I consider it due to those gentlemen to say, that their presence has been productive of much good, and that we have every reason to be satisfied with them. Two other Canadian Roman Catholic priests, I think, might likewise be employed in this quarter with advantage; I have therefore to recommend that the request made last winter by the R. C. Bishop of Quebec for passages for two priests from Montreal for this part of the country be complied with.

Par. 51.

Although the people of the United States, who were engaged in trade on the N. W. Coast, have withdrawn from that branch of business, there are still among them some who think that something may yet be done in the way of trade in the Columbia River; and under that impression the Brig, *Thomas Perkins* of Boston, came to the river this season with a double object of purchasing salmon from the natives for the American market, and, if possible, of picking up a few skins.

Par. 56.

In California, it appears, Mr. Rae had much difficulty in coming to an arrangement with the authorities in regard to the duties which are most extravagant equal to about 50 per cent on the amount of the invoice; and in reference to port regulations, a compliance with which would have been exceedingly inconvenient.

Par. 60.

Among other unwelcome visitors here this year is a Frenchman named Eugene du Flot de Mofras, describing himself as an attaché of the French Embassy at Mexico; he says he was directed by his government to make a tour through California, and to visit this river if possible; but we have only his word for the accuracy of his statements. This person, it appears, made application to Mr. Rae for passage on the *Cowlitz* to this place, which I regret to say he very inconsiderately granted. His desire, I have reason to believe, was to have obtained a passage through the interior to Canada; but I imagine the coolness of his reception here has prevented his making application for that passage, and as we cannot get rid of him in any other way, he returns to California in the *Cowlitz* as our fellow-passenger.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Par. 65.

With reference to the 44th and 48th paragraphs, on the subject of grist and saw mills, I have, since writing the foregoing part of this despatch, made an excursion to the Willamette country, which occupied me four days; and I was surprised at the prosperous condition of that infant settlement which contains a population of about 350 souls, Canadians and their half breed families, and 150 souls, citizens of the United States and their families, besides about 1000 Indians of all ages who [are] maintained and employed by the settlers, to assist them in their agricultural and other labors. These settlers have among them about 3,000 head of cattle, 2,000 horses, 3,000 pigs, and their crops this year have amounted to about 30,000 to 35,000 bushels of grain of all kinds.

Par. 66.

The Willamette River falls from the south into the Columbia in two branches, the upper branch about 8 miles below Fort Vancouver. It is navigable at the season of high water by vessels of 300 to 400 tons burden, a distance of about 15 miles from where its waters unite with those of the Columbia, and to within a mile of the Falls of the Wallamette which are formed by a ledge of rocks that bars the river across from side to side, obstructing the navigation and rendering it necessary to make a portage of a few hundred yeards. On this waterfall there are many fine situations for grist and saw mills and other machinery requiring water power. I visited this spot in 1828 accompanied by C. F. [Chief Factor] McLoughlin, when it was determined to take possession of a part of this water-fall for the Company; and soon afterwards possession was accordingly taken by blasting a canal through the locks and erecting a house upon the portage. Of late, however, the United States Methodist Mission, who seem to direct their attention more to temporal than spiritual affairs, and exercise good judgment in reference to commerce in the selection of their establishments and settlements, have taken possession of part of this waterfall, and disregarding our claims, founded on prior possession and occupation have seated themselves down on the portage, erecting buildings within our boundaries. There is no question that this country will soon grow into importance, and that the water privileges of the Falls will become exceedingly valuable, and as it appears very desirable that the Company should retain command of the import and export business of this settlement as long as possible, to the exclusion of strangers, it has on further consideration been deemed expedient to erect the machinery now supposed to be on its way from England at this place instead of Puget Sound as was contemplated when the 44th paragraph of this letter was written.[13]

[13] The dispute over the Willamette Falls—or Oregon City—land claim, which began as above described, is not yet laid aside. Many local writers, assuming that the claim was Dr. McLoughlin's private property, with which the company had nothing to do, have severely condemned the action of the missionaries in contesting it. In so doing they have chosen to accept McLoughlin's interested statement that the claim was taken for himself rather than the missionaries' interested statement that the claim was intended to give the British company a monopoly of the water privileges at the Falls. Simpson's testimony above clearly bears out the contention of the missionaries so far as the origin of the claim is concerned. It may be added that as late as March 29, 1845, Simpson wrote about "Our [the company's] water privileges on the Willamette".

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

III. Extracts of Dispatches from Sir George Simpson to the Governor, Deputy Governor, and Committee of the Hudson's Bay Company, dated Honolulu, March 1, 1842.[14]

Par. 2.

A three weeks detention inside Cape Disappointment, watching a favorable opportunity for crossing the very dangerous bar off the entrance of the Columbia River, recalled my attention very forcibly to the importance of a depot being formed for such portion of the Company's business as is more immediately connected with the foreign trade and shipping department on some eligible part of the coast, instead of continuing Fort Vancouver as the great center of the business of the West side of the Continent, and exposing many lives and the whole of the valuable imports and exports of the country to a danger which is becoming more alarming every successive year.

Par. 3.

In measure as the natural resources, and sources of commerce of the Northern Pacific, and its shores, and interior country, develope themselves, in like measure does it become apparent that we cannot avail ourselves of them advantageously while entirely dependent on Fort Vancouver as the principal Depot; as, independent of the dangers of the bar, the time lost in watching opportunities either to get out or in (frequently from a month to six weeks, while three weeks more are often consumed after crossing the bar, in getting from Cape Disappointment up to Fort Vancouver) renders it impossible to calculate with any degree of certainty on the quantum of work that ought to be performed by the shipping, deranging the best laid plans, burdening the different branches of the business with very heavy shipping charges, and depriving us of the means of embarking in other branches of commerce, which might be carried on with great advantage, had we a depot eligibly situated on the coast.

Par. 4.

The southern end of Vancouver's Island, forming the northern side of the Straits of de Fuca, appears to me the best situation for such an establishment as is required. From the very superficial examination that has been made, it is ascertained there are several good harbors in that neighborhood, no place, however, has yet been found combining all the advantages required, the most important of which are a safe and acceptable harbor well situated for defense, with water power for grist and saw mills, abundance of timber for home consumption and exportation, and the adjacent country well adapted for tillage and pasture farms on an extensive scale. I had not an opportunity of landing on the southern end of the island; but from the distant view we had of it in passing between Puget's Sound and the Gulf of Georgia, and the report of C. F. [Chief Factor] McLoughlin, and others, who have been there, we have every reason to believe there will be no difficulty in finding an eligible situation in that quarter for the establishment required.

Par. 7.

There are two branches of Trade, one of which, the salmon fishery, has been carried on a limited scale from Forts Vancouver and Langley, and the other the whale fishery, to which we have never before directed our attention, [that] may, in our opinion, with great advantage, be carried on from the new depot. Immense shoals of salmon, and of

[14] Foreign Office, America, 399; Domestic, Various, January to March, 1843.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

very superior quality, are to be found periodically between the main land and the shores of Vancouver's Island, and as the demand for that fish is encreasing and promises to become very great, both for the United States and the China market, commanding now at the Sandwich Islands from $10.00 to $12.00 per barrel of 180 lbs. I think the salmon fisheries of this coast are highly deserving of attention as a growing and almost inexhaustible source of trade.

Par. 8.

With regard to the whale fishery of the North West Coast, my attention was first directed to that branch of commerce while on my visit of inspection of the northern establishment last autumn. At each of those establishments, I saw sperm and Black oil in small quantities, which had been traded from the Indians, who occasionally killed and frequently found dead whales in channels and inlets of the coast, and who represented those animals as being excessively numerous. For many years, it has been known that whales were very numerous about the Straits of de Fuca, and in the Gulf of Georgia, and that the Indians of Cape Flattery and the Straits of de Fuca were expert, even with their bone lances, grass lines, and other rude implements of their own manufacture in killing them, the flesh or blubber being with them a favorite article of food, and the oil an article of trade or barter with the interior tribes. We soon afterwards learnt that a French whaler had been successful off the coast in the course of last summer, and while at California, I saw Capt. Hoyer, the master of a whaler outfitted from Woahoo, who represents the Northwest Coast as the best fishing ground in the Northern Pacific. The information given by this man may be depended upon. It was taken down in short-hand in a conversation with me, and was confirmed to the fullest extent, after my arrival at this place, where I learnt that upwards of 200 whalers will be employed next year between Lat. 52° and 57°, and Long. 144° and 152°.

Par. 9.

From these notes your Honours will [see] that an establishment in the Straits of de Fuca would be admirably adapted for prosecuting that branch of business with every prospect of success, being in the immediate vicinity, or in the heart of the best fishing grounds at present known. Vessels employed in the fishing might run in and out from month to month, as circumstances might render desirable, deliver their oil, receive refreshments or other supplies, and thus remain on their stations from year's end to year's end, following the "Right" whale during the summer, when the weather is moderate in the higher latitudes, and the spermaceti to the southward during the winter months, when there is no exposure to bad weather.

Par. 12.

There is a very large population of daring, fierce, and treacherous Indians on, and in the neighborhood of the southern shore of Vancouver's Island, so that a heavy establishment of people, say from 40 to 50 officers and men will be required, for its protection in the first instance; but with the occasional presence of the steamer, whose power and ubiquity has done more in my opinion to tame those daring hordes than all the other means to that end that have been brought into action by the whites, not only the new depot, but every other establishment on the coast may in due time be reduced in point of

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

numbers to as many only as are absolutely required to accomplish the work.

Par. 15.

. . . We got out of the river on the 21st December, in company with the Barque *Columbia,* she prosecuting her voyage to the Sandwich Islands on her way to England while we proceeded to California, touching at the ports of San Francisco, Monterey, and Santa Barbara. As we entered the first, on the 30th of December, we saw the Russian American Company's brig *Constantine* getting under weigh for Sitka, crowded with passengers, the officers and servants of that concern, late occupants of the Russian establishments of Ross and Bodega which they had evacuated or abandoned, selling the buildings, stock of cattle, horses and sheep, agricultural and other instruments, etc., on credit to a native of Switzerland named Sutter, lately settled on the Sacramento, for the sum of 30,000.00 dollars.

Par. 16.[15]

The establishments of Ross and Bodega . . . were formed . . . with the double object [of otter hunting] and of providing their establishments on the N. W. Coast where the soil and climate were unfavorable for a cultivation with grain, beef, and other agricultural supplies. . . . their establishments were regularly garrisoned by a force of from 25 to 300 men, . . . [They soon destroyed the sea-otter by the wasteful methods employed in hunting]. After the loss of that profitable branch of trade, and the recent arrangement with the Hon^ble^ Company, enabling them to obtain grain and other farm produce for the use of their northern establishments, cheaper than they could raise it, the Russian American Company very wisely determined on withdrawing from California, and by that resolution have benefitted their Association to the amount of upwards of £5,000 per annum.[16]

[15] Only such parts of this paragraph were copied as are not covered in Simpson's letter to Pelly of March 10, 1842.

[16] Paragraphs 19, 24, 26, 29, 32, 33 and 34 of the original dispatch are also copied in the letter of March 10. No. 19 relates to the company's trading house at Yerba Buena under Mr. Rae; 24 describes in severe terms, General Vallejo; in paragraph 26 the Mexican commercial restrictions are discussed. The company tried to land goods at San Francisco, but were not allowed to do so; they must go to Monterey, "the only port of entry on the coast, in the first instance". He describes Governor Alvarado much as in the letter of March 10. The 29th paragraph deals with Santa Barbara, which is described as the great place of resort for foreigners engaged in trade to California. Paragraphs 32, 33 and 34 contain Simpson's reflections on the advantages of California, if the country were in the hands of a more enlightened nation—much as in the letter of March 10. Speaking of the possibility of establishing a protectorate over California, Simpson says: "I shall not enlarge on this subject at present, especially so, as I shall have an opportunity of communicating with your honours personally thereon after my return to England the early part of next winter." The remainder of the letter as excerpted in this document refers to the Hawaiian Islands, and contains no important statement which is not covered in Simpson's letter of March 10, 1842.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

IV. Copy of a Letter from Sir George Simpson to Sir John H. Pelly.[17]

Honolulu, Woahoo,
March 10, 1842.

Dear Sir:

In accordance with a desire expressed previous to my departure from England by Lord John Russell and Lord Palmerston, then respectively at the head of the Colonial and Foreign Offices, that I should communicate through you from time to time, whatever might occur to me in the course of my present journey as likely to be interesting to H. M.'s Government, in reference to the countries I was about to visit, I now beg to lay before you a brief outline of the information I have collected on these subjects.

By other communications you are aware that taking my departure from England in the early part of March last, I proceeded via the United States, Canada, the interior of Hudson's Bay, and across the continent to the mouth of the Columbia River, where I arrived in August. There I found the United States exploring expedition under the command of Commodore Wilkes immediately after the loss of the *Peacock* sloop of war, in crossing the bar at the Columbia River. Commodore Wilkes had, in the course of the summer, made a close survey of the Straits of Juan de Fuca, Puget Sound, Hood's Canal, and the Gulf of Georgia, up to the outlet of Frazer's River, in about Lat. 49°, while parties were employed under the direction of the several members of the scientific corps, in visiting the interior country.

Commodore Wilkes was by no means communicative on the object of these surveys and examinations; but I collected from a very intelligent and confidential member of the Expedition, that it was the intention of Captain Wilkes to recommend strongly to his government, to claim the whole of the territory on the shores of the Northern Pacific, from the Mexican Northern Boundary in Lat. 42° to the Russian Southern Boundary in Lat. 54°, 40'.[18]

Whether the United States Government will adopt this modest recommendation, or not, remains to be seen; but the gentleman connected with the Expedition, before alluded to, is rather more moderate than the Commodore, as he informed me it was *his* intention to recommend that a line drawn through the Straits of Juan de Fuca, till it struck the mainland south of Whidby's Island, and thence across to the Columbia River, opposite the outlet of the Nez Percé, or Southern Branch, should be accepted by which means the country to the southward of that line, with the harbors inside Cape Flattery, Hood's Canal, and Puget's Sound would belong to the United States; and to such claim he seemed to think Great Britain could not reasonably object, as she must see the justice of allowing the United States access to ports of refuge and refreshment, which they could not possess if a more southern bound-

[17] Foreign Office, America, 388; Domestic, Various, June and July, 1842. Original evidently received at Foreign Office not later than July, 1842, and returned to Pelly August 27, 1842.

[18] Wilkes's opinion of the importance of Puget Sound to the United States may be inferred from his statement, *Narrative of the U. S. Exploring Expedition,* V. 171, with reference to a future maritime state, embracing "two of the finest ports in the world—that within the Straits of Juan de Fuca, and San Francisco".

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ary was determined upon, as the Columbia River, from the dangerous character of the bar at its outlet cannot be considered a port.[19]

Greenhow's recent publication[20] points out the grounds of claim of the United States and Great Britain, but whether he examines the subject fairly or not, you will be better able to judge, having all the information that we have been enabled to collect on this important question at the Hudson's Bay House, but I trust you will urge H. M. government not to consent to any boundary which would give to the United States any portion of the Territory north of the Columbia River; as any boundary north of that stream would deprive Great Britain of the only valuable part of the territory, the country to the northward of the Straits of de Fuca not being adapted for agriculture, or other purposes connected with colonization.

On the character and capabilities of the country, north and south of the Columbia River, I have already addressed you very fully in my official communications to the Company, to which I beg reference, should any information thereon be considered interesting to the Government.

From the Columbia I proceeded up the North West Coast to the Russian Territory, visiting the Russian American Company's principal Depot of Sitka. There I found an establishment of from 300 to 400 men, with a steamer and several armed vessels and the place garrisoned and occupied as a military establishment, the Governor or principal representative of the Company being a post captain in the Imperial Navy, and the subordinate officers holding naval and military rank, all receiving pay from the Government, as if on foreign service, as well as pay from the Company. I experienced from the Russian authorities every kindness and civility, the best understanding, I am happy to say, subsisting between them and the Hudson's Bay Company's officers in this quarter; and I have the satisfaction to say that both the Hudson's Bay Company and the Russian American Company benefit by their amicable relations.

While at Sitka I learnt from the Governor that he was instructed by the Russian American Company to abandon two stations that have been long occupied by them within the Mexican territory, at Ross and Bodega. The occupation of these establishments by the Russians, has been a subject of much speculative conjecture by the different travelers who have written upon California of late years. Russia may have contemplated the fostering of some claim upon that country from such occupation; and the Russian American Company in the meantime benefitted by it in the way of trade, having followed up the sea-otter hunts upon that coast with great activity until those valuable animals became quite exhausted. By their superior force, maintaining as they did, an establishment of 300 to 400 men, they set at defiance the authorities

[19] The officer referred to by Simpson was probably Captain William L. Hudson, who was second in command, and who was at Vancouver during Simpson's sojourn there, August 25 to September 1. See paragraph 12, letter of November 25, 1841, paragraph 12, *ante*, and Wilkes's *Narrative*, V. 122, 123. The line of boundary here described may have been recommended to the government; it has some points of similarity to a suggested line which was described, roughly, by Webster in his letter to Everett of November 28, 1842. *Private Correspondence*, II. 154.

[20] Robert Greenhow, *Memoir, Historical and Political, of the Northwest Coast* (Washington, 1840).

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of California, who looked upon them as intruders: the Russian American Company, however, latterly finding the occupation of those places not only unprofitable, but attended with much outlay, with the sanction of their government, have this season abandoned Bodega and Ross, selling the buildings, together with their stock in trade, to a person of the name of Sutter, a Swiss recently become a citizen of Mexico, for a consideration of $30,000. This sale was effected previously to my arrival, otherwise it is probable I should have made a purchase of the establishment for the Hudson's Bay Company with a view to the possibility of some claim being based thereon by Great Britain at a future period.[21]

I got back in the month of October to the Columbia River from my visit to the Russian settlements, and thence took my departure for California, touching at the ports of San Francisco, Monterey, and Santa Barbara. That country which is of great extent and possessing advantages of soil and climate unrivalled perhaps in any other part of the world, is in the hands of a very few indolent Californians, the descendants of the Spanish and Mexican soldiery, who were attached to the missions, by whom it was, in the first instance, settled. The whole population of that beautiful and extensive country, possessing 1200 miles of sea-coast, does not exceed 7,000, of whom 600 are foreigners, principally Americans.

California is nominally a Territory or dependency of the Republic of Mexico, which does not however attempt to exercise any dominion over it, its remote situation, together with the disturbed state of the mother country admitting of little intercourse or communication between them.

The only source of commerce that this country at present possesses, arises from its numerous herds of black cattle, which for the extent and capacity of the country, is a mere trifle, not exceeding 50,000 to 60,000 hides, and 25,000 to 30,000 quintals of tallow annually. The revenues consist of exhorbitant duties and dues amounting to about 125 percent on prime cost, on goods formally entered at the custom-house, to be disposed of in barter for the hides and tallow. These prohibitory exactions deafeat their object, by the encouragement they afford to smuggling, three-fourths of the goods introduced into the country being run ashore, and the remaining one fourth only passing through the customs. The funds thus raised are divided among the Governor, the Commander of the Forces, custom House officers and other self constituted authorities and officials; as of late years they have totally disregarded the nominations of the Mexican Government, electing their own officers; and the Government, making a merit of necessity, confirmed their appointments.

The Governor [Alvarado], who seven years ago was appraiser of custom house Goods, is an ignorant, dissipated man, quite devoid of respectability and character; and the commander of the forces [Vallejo], the next in rank and standing, who was, a few years back, a Lieutenant in the Army, has no pretension to character or respectabil-

[21] By comparing the above statement with that contained in paragraph 32 of his letter of November 25, 1841, *ante,* and remembering that the earlier statement was intended for the eyes of his company alone, while the later one is meant for the eye of the government, one obtains an instructive side-light on Simpson's methods.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ity, and, like most others in the country, betrays a gross want of honesty and veracity, while much jealousy and ill will exists between these great men, who are total strangers to every feeling of honor, honesty, or patriotism, and I believe, are ready to sell themselves and their country, at a moment's notice, to the highest bidder.[22]

Of the 600 foreign residents about 400 are Americans and about 100 British. The former not only from their numbers, but from their pushing and active habits, and forward character, have much influence, and may be said to give law to the country. Many of the British residents are much respected, and the feelings of the different classes of the natives is favorable to Great Britain, while they look upon the United States, and her citizens, with much jealousy and alarm.

The country from its natural advantages, possessing, as it does, the finest harbor in the Northern Pacific, in the Bay of San Francisco, and capable, as it is, of maintaining a population of some millions of agriculturists, might become invaluable to Great Britain as an outlet to her surplus population, as a stronghold and protection to her commerce, and interests in these seas, and as a market for her manufactures; and as the principal people in the country, and indeed the whole population, seem anxious to be released from the Republic of Mexico, which can afford them neither protection nor assistance, and are apprehensive that they may fall within the grasp of the United States, I have reason to believe they would require very little encouragement to declare their independence of Mexico, and place themselves under the protection of Great Britain. Indeed it has been communicated to me, confidentially, and I feel authorized to say, that the presence of a British cruiser on the coast, with a private assurance of protection from Great Britain, and appointments being given to the present higher authorities and officials which would not involve a larger sum than a few thousand pounds per annum, would be a sufficient inducement to declare themselves independent of Mexico and claim the protection of Great Britain. If Great Britain be unwilling to sanction or encourage such a declaration I feel assured, that some step will very soon be taken, with the like object, in favor of the United States.

The British residents at one time thought there was a probability of the country falling into the hands of England, in liquidation of the debts owing by the Mexican Government, but that they now seem to think would be a sacrifice of money on the part of the nation as they feel that California might be acquired without any such outlay, the people being willing to place themselves and their country at the disposal of Great Britain.

By the Treaty of 1819 between the United States and Spain, the parallel of 42° is fixed upon as the Mexican Northern, and the United States Southern, boundary, whereby the claims of Great Britain to the tract of country situated between Lat. 42° and Lat. 37° (the Bay of San Francisco) are lost sight of; whereas by the Treaty of Madrid of October 1790, between Spain and England, the latter country has a right to land and form settlements on every part of the coast or islands adjacent, "Situate to the north of the parts of the said coast already occupied by Spain", *i. e.* San Francisco which was then, and still is, the most northern settlement of that country. That strip of country

[22] Compare Simpson's published opinions of these officers as given in his *Narrative*, I. 348–349, and 309 ff.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

which comprehends about five degrees of Latitude, and in which the Russian establishments of Ross and Bodega are situated, does not possess any good winter harbor, nor is its sea-board well adapted for settlement; but the interior country, watered by the Sacramento and its tributaries, after the great valley of the Tulares, which contains about 10,000 square miles, may be considered as about the finest part of California; and in any arrangement that may be made in regard to the partition of territory, it may be well to bear in mind the claims of Great Britain to that District of Country.

To give an idea of the fertility of this fine country, twenty returns of wheat are considered a failure, while 80 to 100 returns (even with the wretched system of cultivation now pursued, the whole of the field labor being performed by the most degraded of the Indian race I have ever met with, the liberated neophytes of the Missions) are common; and it is ascertained the country is capable of producing coffee, sugar, cocoa nut, Indigo, Tobacco, silk, wine, and tea in great perfection, while in the districts watered by the streams falling into the Bay of San Francisco, there is an inexhaustible supply of timber for ship-building. Flax and hemp of the best quality are indigenous; and it is said that coal has been found on the banks of the Sacramento, but of that I am doubtful, as the information is from a source not celebrated for veracity.

Quitting the shores of California, on the 27th of January, and getting almost immediately into the North East Trade wind, we made the Island of Owhyhee[23] on the 10th of February, and got into the Harbor of Honolulu in Woahoo the following day. The business of this place is increasing from year to year, principally dependent on the whalers and other vessels that rendevous here, which may be estimated at about 100 sail per annum. These shipping require supplies of various kinds which afford a market to a considerable extent; and as many of the natives are employed in whaling, pearl fishing, in California and the Columbia, bringing the produce of their labors home, which finds circulation throughout the Islands, they afford a further market. This port is moreover becoming an entrepot for a portion of the South American, Californian, Manilla and china markets; and when the commerce of the latter country, and Japan may be thrown open to the world, which there is every reason to believe will soon be the case, there is little doubt that from the situation of these islands, being in the direct line of communication, a great entrepot will be formed here, and it will become a port of refuge and refreshment for nearly all the shipping visiting the Northern Pacific, so that no question can exist that this will in due time become a very important commercial station.

There are now at Honolulu, which is the only good harbor in the islands, and where there is a population of about 9,000 souls, six houses of business, besides the H. B. Company, principally American, who, independent of their own requisitions, receive consignments from the United States, England, China, etc., as commission merchants, the whole invoice amount of importations during the past year being about £50,000, the only outlet for which, is the demand of the shipping visiting the port for supplies, with that of the native population, and other inhabitants.

The country in point of climate is unequaled perhaps by any part within the Tropics, and as regards the quality of the soil of such por-

[23] Hawaii.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tions as produce vegetation, much of it being bare volcanic rock, it is well adapted for various tropical productions, such as sugar, coffee, cotton, indigo, tobacco, etc., but the experiments that have hitherto been made in raising these articles for market have not been attended with much success, owing in a great degree to the difficulty of procuring regular and cheap labor, as the natives cannot be induced by any wages to lay aside their indolent habits, and betake themselves to industry. Some of the residents, however, have lately encouraged the migration of Chinese, who are satisfied with very moderate wages, are maintained at little cost, living as they principally do upon rice and other vegetable diet, and are exceedingly industrious and tractable; and when capital can be employed under good management in prosecuting the cultivation of the different products above noticed, I have no doubt the exports from these Islands will become considerable. Sandal wood, which was formerly the great article of export from hence, is become exhausted; but there is a vegetable oil, known as *Tu-tu-i,* or candle-tree oil, [which] begins now to take the place of that article. Large quantities of this oil can be procured here, as the candle-tree is very abundant, and the oil, though inferior to linseed, nevertheless commands a price that yields a fair return to the manufacturer.

Since my arrival here I have had several communications with the governor of this island, a native chief, Kuanoa, and have seen several other of the leading chiefs, all of whom appear well disposed, and are evidently anxious to conciliate foreigners, and to stand well with other nations, especially Great Britain and the United States. They seem to consider themselves in a certain degree under the protection of Great Britain, and if they found themselves in any difficulty with or danger from any other nation, would no doubt solicit the protection of H. M's government; but although looking up to that source for protection, I am very doubtful that they would willingly place themselves under the dominion or become a dependency of any other country, unless the king and chiefs, with their descendants for several generations, were provided for by liberal pensions. They are evidently most anxious to do what is right in their commercial and other relations with foreign countries; but are too much under the influence of the Calvinist Missionary Society in the United States, who have a number of their teachers and missionaries stationed throughout the different islands; and they have had sufficient influence to get one of their own number, a narrow minded, illiterate, American [William Richards] installed as Prime Minister, or principal councellor of the King. This man never absents himself from him, and being the tool of the Missionary Society, which may be considered in a certain degree, a political Engine in the hands of the Government of the United States, the Sandwich Islands may be said to be greatly under the influence of that government. To do the missionaries justice however, it appears to me, they exercise their best judgment for the welfare and prosperity of the country, but in their over zeal, they counselled the enactment of some very strange and unusual laws which foreigners find irksome and vexatious; and as might be expected, they not infrequently divert the stream of justice from the proper course in order to favor their own friends and countrymen.

I have had several communications with Kuanoa, who is the most intelligent and important man, connected with the government, on the subject of getting Richards removed from his recent position as prime

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

minister, and having a more enlightened man to fill that important office. He seems to see the expediency of such change, and if a fit and proper person could be pointed out, I have no doubt they would avail themselves of his services forthwith, and from his remarks they would prefer a person recommended by the British Government to any other.

It is unfortunate that the British Government have not a more efficient and intelligent representative here, Mr. Charlton, although rather a bustling active man, being very little respected either by natives or foreigners. And if I could venture a suggestion, I should say it would be good policy to pension that gentleman off, and fill the office of consul with a man of conduct, character, and intelligence.

The British residents both at these islands and California, complain bitterly that their interests were, for a length of time, lost sight of by the British Government, in comparison with those of the subjects of the United States and France, few or no British cruisers having ever visited either these islands or California, unless casually, for the purpose of refreshment, or for the advancement of science; whereas the visits of American men-of-war have been very frequent, while those of France are becoming more so from year to year than is agreeable to the native inhabitants. There are always several British men-of-war on the Southern Pacific Station, which might without inconvenience run across with the Trades to these Islands, and, on their return, visit the coast of California, by their presence affording protection to the interests of the British residents at those places, while it would have the effect of giving to Great Britain a weight and influence in those countries which she could not otherwise obtain or possess.

The population of these Islands like every other barbarous population with whom whites have come in contact, is dwindling away very fast—indeed, the decrease is as extraordinary as it is lamentable. In the days of Vancouver, some fifty years ago, it was estimated, and, I imagine, pretty accurately so, at 400,000, but by a recent census, it is ascertained to be reduced to less than 90,000; and the deaths are to the births, in the proportion of 80 to 47½ so that if the mortality continues in the same ratio, the native population will become extinct in a very few years.

By reference to my despatches addressed to the Company, under dates 25th of November 1841, and the 1st Instant, you will find that I have reported very fully on the affairs of the Columbia, likewise those of the Northwest Coast and California, entering into some of the statistics of these districts of country; and I take the liberty of suggesting, that extracts be made from those despatches, for the information of Her Majesty's Government,[24] if you think they are likely to be interesting; and as I hope to get back to England in the course of November next, I shall be happy to give every further information I possess in regard to those countries.

This, together with the despatches for the Company, and some other letters will be handed to Mr. Charlton [the British Consul] for the purpose of being forwarded in the government mail-bag, by a vessel proceeding forthwith to Valparaiso. Another copy will be sent by the first ship from hence for England, and a third, *via* the Columbia, for the purpose of being forwarded overland to Canada.

It is my intention to leave these islands from the 20th to the 25th of March for Sitka, taking my passage from thence to Ochotsk, in one

[24] This was done, such extracts being found with this letter.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of the Russian American Company's vessels, and returning via Siberia to England. I have the honor, etc.,

GEO. SIMPSON.

P. S. By the Brig *Nereus* which arrived here from Salem a few days ago, we learn that the *Providence,* Frigate, accompanied by the Transport or storeship, sailed from New York for the Columbia River, as it is said, for the purpose of taking military possession there on behalf of the United States. These statements are made by the Americans here with great confidence, but I cannot give them credence, as I scarcely think that government would take so decided a step without the consent of H. M. Government, which could scarcely be obtained without your knowledge. And by recent advices from Mazatlan, we learn that a governor general has been sent by Mexico, backed by a force of 150 men to assume the reins of government in California. But reports for which there is not the least foundation are of such frequent occurrence here, that little reliance can be placed upon them. It is further stated that the United States Govt are in treaty with Mexico for the district of country, situated between San Francisco and Lat. 42°, the northern Mexican Boundary, notwithstanding the claims of Great Britain to that country, founded on the discoveries of Sir Francis Drake and the Treaty of October 1790 between Spain and England.

G. S.

V. EXTRACT OF A LETTER FROM SIR GEORGE SIMPSON TO SIR JOHN H. PELLY, DATED MOWEE, SANDWICH ISLANDS, MARCH 24, 1842.

I had this pleasure [of addressing you] about ten days ago from Honolulu and immediately proceeded to another island Mowee[25] on a visit to the king and Royal family of the Islands.

I have had much confidential intercourse and communication with the king, Queen, and Premier, likewise with the Reverend Mr. Richards, who is the great counsellor or advisor of the Government.

I have been successful in acquiring during my short acquaintance, a great degree of influence over these good people, with whom I feel much interested, and at my suggestion it has been determined that Mr. Richards will proceed to England, so as to be there about the time of my arrival. Mr. Richards will be invested with full power to enter into treaties with Great Britain, France, and the United States, and to transact important business on behalf of the King and government of these Islands; and at my suggestion, your name and that of Mr. Colville, likewise my own, will be coupled with that of Mr. Richards in the letters of credence with which he is invested, and I now forward copies of letters, the originals of which are in my possession, in order that you may be prepared for important negotiations connected with these Islands.

VI. EXTRACTS[26] FROM A LETTER OF SIR GEORGE SIMPSON TO THE GOVERNOR, DEPUTY GOVERNOR AND COMMITTEE OF THE HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY, DATED HUDSON'S BAY HOUSE, NOVEMBER 16, 1842.

Par. 2.

The voyage from Sitka to Ochotsk occupied 42 days which may be considered an average passage.

[25] Maui.

[26] Only portions of these extracts are here copied.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Par. 3.

In the 14th paragraph of the same despatch,[27] I had occasion to notice that in our voyage from Sitka to Ochotsk we fell in with one of about 200 American whalers that were fishing very successfully in the Northern Pacific between Lat. 50° and 57°. The Russian Gov^mt. look upon the encroachments of U. States citizens engaged in this branch of trade with much jealousy, and as a measure of protection of their coasts and seas - - - the Russian American Company are of the opinion they would readily favor any measure likely to prove advantageous to that Association that would have for its object the protection of that source of commerce.

[27] Despatch of July 6, 1842, from Ochotsk, extracts from which are found in Foreign Office, America, 399.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

GENERAL BOOKS AND BOOKS OF ANCIENT HISTORY

Ancient Italy: Historical and Geographical Investigations in Central Italy, Magna Graecia, Sicily and Sardinia. By ETTORE PAIS. Translated from the Italian by C. DENSMORE CURTIS. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press; London: T. Fisher Unwin. 1908. Pp. xiv, 441.)

IN this volume Professor Pais has gathered together in English form twenty-six papers which originally appeared in the proceedings of various Italian learned societies or were separately printed for private distribution. Of these more than half deals with southern Italy and Sicily, three have to do immediately with the early history of Rome, while the remainder is allotted to various fields. Naturally many of the conclusions here reached have been already given in the author's well-known *Storia di Roma*. Here as there Pais often shows himself a keen and sometimes over-destructive critic of tradition, but it would be unfair to speak of his work as wholly of that kind; indeed in these papers we must recognize that there is a large amount of constructive work of a high order; it is the more to be regretted that many of the conclusions seem at best but probabilities.

The two papers which will prove of most interest to the majority of readers are the one on the Siciliot elements and its companion on the Italiot, Samnite and Campanian elements in the earliest history of Rome. In the former Pais examines the traditions of early Sicilian influences on Rome and shows how these were due to the commercial relations existing between Rome and Syracuse, which city after the battle of Curnae in 474 B. C. occupied a foremost position in Sicily and Magna Graecia until the middle of the third century at least. The synchronism established by the early Greek and Roman historians in the history of the two cities, which indeed Dionysius of Halicarnassus noted in connection with the traditional secession of the plebs in 493 B. C., leads Pais to the view that the story of this first secession, of the establishment of the plebeian tribunate, of the introduction of the cult of Ceres, and in fact of the whole series of events connected therewith, was consciously imported into Roman history from the account of Gelo's success in obtaining possession of Syracuse as the result of a (forced) withdrawal of the owners of the land, to which may be added the possible influence of a sedition at Gela, known to us from Herodotus. Such borrowings by early Roman historians were due to those

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

patriotic motives which led to the adaptation of many striking events and heroic deeds in Greek history to the conditions of early Rome. While it is not improbable that the cult of Ceres and the tribunate of the plebs came from Syracuse, or were strongly influenced by Syracusan institutions, and although it is impossible to deny that Pais may be right in his other contentions, still here as in the case of many of his conclusions we cannot escape the fact that the data are insufficient to warrant certainty. The paper relating to the Italiot, Samnite and Campanian influences on early Rome deals briefly with questions of agriculture, metrology, military organization, civil and political institutions, law and religion. The most important conclusion here is that the laws of the Twelve Tables were largely derived from the Thurian code of about 446 B. C.

The limits of this notice permit only the mention of a few of the other papers. In the opening chapter toponomic evidence is employed to prove that the Ausonians once occupied not only a large part of southern Italy but also much of central Italy as well, including Latium. Again Pais argues in his paper entitled *Eryx=Verruca?* that the Elymi were of the same stock as the Sicani; in his discussion of the early history of Ischia he proposes a probable correction of Strabo V. 247 C *τά χρυσεῖα* to *χυτρεῖα*, and makes some valuable observations on early trade relations with Africa; the following paper maintains the thesis that Naples did not lose Ischia in 326 B. C. when she fell into the hands of the Romans, but in 82 B. C. when she capitulated to Sulla. In the last paper in the volume, by arguments which certainly deserve careful consideration, Pais arrives at the conclusion that Strabo, contrary to Niese's view which has generally been accepted, wrote his geography, based on materials collected by him in Alexandria and Rome, from the point of view of a Greek of Asia Minor and in the interests of Greeks of that region not much later than 7 B. C., in some remoter part of the Asiatic provinces, possibly at the court of Pythodoris, the talented queen of Pontus; twenty-five years later it was worked over and published.

We must regret that the original date and place of publication are not given with each paper, or in default of this, that more account has not been taken of work done since the papers first appeared; then we should not find for example on page 404, note 4, an unqualified acceptance of Landgraf's hypothesis—long since discredited—of the authorship of the *Bellum Africanum*. Mr. Curtis's translation, in spite of a few slips, is on the whole well done and readable; there are a few obvious errors in proof-reading; but barring these matters the book is well made and attractive.

Clifford H. Moore.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The History of the World: a Survey of Man's Record. Edited by Dr. H. F. HELMOLT. Volume V. *South Eastern and Eastern Europe.* (New York: Dodd, Mead and Company. 1907. Pp. xi, 650.)

IN his preface Dr. Helmolt declares: "the present volume may fairly claim to be a fuller and more accurate account of Southeastern and Eastern Europe than any which is to be found in the older universal histories." We may grant this, for it represents the fruits of later investigation than the corresponding parts of Lavisse and Rambaud, but, on the other hand, it is far from being as well written. Few indeed will wish to wade through all its pages. Some of the contributors err on the side of too many names and facts, others on that of obscurity and sweeping statement. Still, whatever their faults, they have given us a work which has been put together with the painstaking care of modern German scholarship and which offers us much information, some of it not easily accessible in Western languages. They have thus fairly earned our gratitude.

Of the separate sections, number I., the Greeks after Alexander the Great, by Professor Rudolf von Scala, is the best. His description of the spread of Hellenism and of its influence not only in Roman but in medieval and in Turkish times is often highly interesting. It is a pity, however, that doubtless so as not to leave a gap in a *History of the World* he felt it necessary to tag on a futile page on the Kingdom of Greece (from 1832). Section II., Turkey in Europe and Armenia, is scholarly but too often vague and rhetorical, and the translation increases its shortcomings. For instance we read that under the reign of Suleiman II. (p. 154) "sword and pen were never dry. Messages of victory alternated with songs, and intellectual rivalry outshone the trophies of captured weapons. . . . Everywhere greatness, power and splendour . . . a splendour which defied the sharpest introspection (for the German word *Blick*) to discover the germs of decay in the roots of the flourishing growth which bore these trophic blooms." Again, to take another example, almost at random, the three meagre, unsatisfactory paragraphs on the Omens (German *Vorboten*) of the Crimean War are rendered still more confused by the careless substitution of the word "Hungary" for "Russia" in the first line of the second paragraph, and by the statement that in the dispute about the Holy Places the Porte decided "in favour of Greece", when what the original says is "the Greeks", here a very different matter.

Sections III.–VI., dealing with the Albanians, Czechs, Serbo-Croatians, the Danube Peoples, etc., contain much that will be new to most readers. If none of the articles are very notable, at least they offer us in compact form a large amount of rather inaccessible information, though it is perhaps not quite as new in itself as the editor thinks. Although different writers are not free from national prejudice, they

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

are thoroughly competent even if many of their conclusions on disputed questions are open to doubt. We note in passing that, contrary to the opinion of Bury and of a number of other scholars, Dr. Wlislocki in the first line of his account of the Huns (section VI.) takes for granted their identity with the Hiung Nu. He regards the Huns as originally Turks, but soon much mixed, and believes the Bulgarians and probably the Magyars to have been chiefly Finns. On the particularly vexed question of the origin of the Roumanians he cautiously admits the possibility of truth in all the conflicting theories.

Section VII., Eastern Europe, by Professor Vladimir Milkowicz, deals with Russia and Poland. The Russian part, in spite of the praise bestowed upon it in the editor's preface, is not especially good. Its facts are familiar, its conclusions are often biassed and not over-convincing. The Polish portion is better as well as fuller. There is still so little of serious historical writing on Poland in the Western languages that we welcome every addition to the store. The author's tone is in the main fair and dispassionate, but at times he is most disappointing, as in his unpardonably inadequate account of the partitions of Poland, which is followed by less than a page (in this six hundred and fifty page history of eastern Europe) to bring the history of Poland down to the present day!

There is one last severe criticism we have to make that falls on the translation. In a work full of proper names for the most part transliterated from another alphabet, a consistent system of spelling is of obvious importance. The matter should have been turned over to some competent person, instead of which the translator of each section seems to have been free to follow his or her will, regardless of any one else. In section VII.— to name the worst offender—*f*, *v* and *w* are used indiscriminately for the same Russian letter, and even the Polish names are tampered with in spite of the fact that as Polish uses the Roman alphabet no changes are admissible.

These evils are brought out glaringly by the egregious index, whose compiler was evidently incapable of recognizing the same word under two separate spellings or the same person with two qualifications attached to him. A few examples will show the result of this. The first heading in the index is Aachen, p. 55; a little later, p. 62, we find Aix-la-Chapelle. The Hungarian patriot Count Louis Batthyány is mentioned on page 396. When he is spoken of on the next page his first name is not repeated and an extra accent has somehow got on to the last, so the cautious index has another heading. Katharine II. has only one reference to her (which is more than that spelling deserves) but she comes to her own as Catherine II. We have separate headings for Justinian and Justinian Emperor; for Council of Nicaea and Council of Nicea; for Alexij Orloff and Alexei Orlov; for Otranto and Otranto in Apulia; and eight different ones with Basil or Basilius to cover two Byzantine emperors. The form Wladislaus comes in but once, and the

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

same is true of Wladislaw, but there are Ladislauses and Vladislavs in plenty, and in utter confusion. Under the plain heading Casimir, the first three references relate to three different persons, one of whom comes in again under four other headings—but it is useless to continue with examples of this kind. Any one with time to waste can find plenty for himself. We can only regret that the English rendering of a painstaking and useful historical work should be marred by such disgraceful slovenliness in some of its details.

ARCHIBALD CARY COOLIDGE.

Histoire du Dogme de la Papauté des Origines à la Fin du Quatrième Siècle. Par l'Abbé JOSEPH TURMEL. (Paris: Alphonse Picard et Fils. 1908. Pp. 492.)

THE Abbé Turmel has gathered into a book the studies which he has published in the *Revue Catholique des Églises*. He professes by his title to give a history of the dogma of the papacy in the first four centuries, but the work is not so much a contribution to the history of dogma as a study of the historical development of the Roman authority in the early period. The progress of dogmas of which the author speaks (p. 189) means, in this instance, the progress of actual jurisdiction. In more than one passage the term dogma is used when power would have been more exact. A sentence midway in the book might well have stood as a preface: "Tels étaient les droits de la papauté considérés, non dans leur réalité intime que la théologie peut seule nous faire connaître, mais dans leur exercice historique" (p. 189). The story of this historical development is, however, somewhat confused by the constant implication that the Roman consciousness of dogmatic and governmental authority was in full existence at all times, even when it found no expression and was not presented as the basis of action. Possibly Turmel's adhesion to this dogma prevented him from following the example of Sohm's *Kirchenrecht* in exhibiting the growth of Roman authority as a special case of a class of facts, as a signal instance of the preponderant influence won by the great centres and their bishops. In one passage (pp. 178–186), however, Turmel makes an admirable statement of this general case of development, and his scientific integrity is illustrated by the frank and admirable candor with which in one matter of great importance (p. 64) he acknowledges a conflict between historic induction and theology. Probably no more lucid and incisive statement of the problem of transition from collegial episcopate to monarchic episcopate can be named than that which leads to the acknowledgment just cited.

The work is able, minute, clear, erudite, interesting, and shows an amazing knowledge of the work of German and English scholarship. It is a monograph of great value especially in dealing with the fourth century where the general church histories like the recent admirable work of the Abbé Duchesne sacrifice the detail of this particular matter to

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the larger story of state establishment and theological warfare. The reader of the monograph is often aware that the audience addressed has a special theological and national interest in the matter and reconciles himself to some valuable discussion which for another audience might have been more brief.

Although the Abbé Turmel has an intelligence disciplined by historical science, able to present both sides of a discussion with full justice to each, and to find a conclusion in strict conformity to the body of the facts, there are some instances where a zeal other than that of the historian triumphs over his accuracy. Such apparently is the case when he renders the phrase of Irenaeus ("propter potentiorem principalitatem") by "prééminence suprême", or when he gratuitously interpolates the notion of absolute Roman authority into the story of the synod which condemned Novatian: "sur un mot de lui soixante évêques italiens se rassemblent" (p. 102). Turmel imagines that Cyprian was at first docile to Roman authority and later became truculent, but the early submissiveness is got by forcing Cyprian's language in the translation. "I thought it well to stand by your judgment" ("standum putavi et cum vestra sententia") becomes "j'ai cru devoir me conformer à votre decision" (p. 95), and without a hint of omission Turmel drops the remaining words of Cyprian which preclude the idea of submission to authority. A promise of Cyprian to communicate his decision is rendered "non sans nous mettre d'accord avec vous" (p. 95). A Roman acknowledgment of Cyprian's courtesy ("pro tuo more fecisti") becomes the approbation of a superior ("tu as bien fait", p. 97) and Cyprian's request to Stephen of Rome to write "plenissimas litteras" in a matter of discipline becomes a request for "une lettre décisive" (p. 124). Turmel's final conclusion that Cyprian's attitude in the baptismal controversy "dénote chez lui un sentiment peu net des droits de la primauté" (p. 172) is a gentle verdict from the Romanist point of view, but the long discussion might have more definitely reached the conclusion that Cyprian acknowledged in Rome not a primacy of authority but a primacy of honor.

It is possible that such misreadings as have been cited are due to haste and the standing misconception of "les droits de la primauté". It is certainly only carelessness that caused a mistranslation of the third canon of the council of Sardica (p. 253). The canon provides that on an appeal of deposed bishops to Julius of Rome the trial may be resumed by the bishops who are neighbors to the province of the deposed. Turmel's translation means that the neighboring bishops shall refer an appeal to Rome for decision by the pope. This serious exaggeration of Roman authority is, however, confined to the translation of the canon. Two pages later Turmel properly interprets the meaning of the canon in his discussion. Yet this is not the only blemish. The canon simply delegates to Julius of Rome, not to the papacy in perpetuity, a right to summon a new council in the case of an appealed case

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of deposition. Turmel writes: "il a attribué au pape . . . un droit de révision." His discussion on the other hand sets forth that the right was a novelty in practice, instituted at that particular time.

The book is a useful help in tracing the development of Roman appellate jurisdiction, though it is obvious that it must be read with cautious, critical attention.

FRANCIS A. CHRISTIE.

BOOKS OF MEDIEVAL AND MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

Recueil des Actes de Lothaire et de Louis V., Rois de France (954–987). Publié sous la Direction de M. H. D'ARBOIS DE JUBAINVILLE, Membre de l'Institut, par M. LOUIS HALPHEN, avec la Collaboration de M. FERDINAND LOT. (Paris: C. Klincksieck. 1908. Pp. lv, 231.)

Recueil des Actes de Philippe Ier, Roi de France (1059–1108). Publié sous la Direction de M. D'ARBOIS DE JUBAINVILLE, Membre de l'Institut, par M. PROU, Professeur à l'École des Chartes. (Paris: C. Klincksieck. 1908. Pp. ccl, 567.)

IT is a curious fact that although the science of diplomatics had its origin in France and the traditions of the Benedictines have been well maintained by the École des Chartes yet the documentary sources of French history have not been collected and sifted with the same system and thoroughness as in Germany, and the French student has at his disposal no such body of *Urkunden* and *Jahrbücher* as his German colleagues have prepared. Even the field which interests France and Germany equally, the period of the Carolingians, has been tilled almost wholly by German and Austrian scholars. Projects for such undertakings have, however, not been lacking in France. Even before the Revolution the Academy of Inscriptions and the government formed plans for publishing in chronological order all the documents important for the history of France, and by the middle of the nineteenth century a large mass of copies had been accumulated for that purpose. These schemes were, however, too vast for execution, and they failed to take sufficient account of the need of studying critically each group of documents by itself. Only comparatively recently, largely through the efforts of the late Arthur Giry and M. Maurice Prou, has the Academy of Inscriptions turned to the more practicable task of issuing an edition of the documents of the West Frankish and French sovereigns from 840 to 1223. The first two volumes are now before us, and we learn from M. d'Arbois's preface that the work for the others is well advanced. A series of non-royal documents will be inaugurated next year by M. Léopold Delisle's monumental study of the charters of Henry II. for his continental dominions.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

For M. Halphen's volume on the last two Carolingians the body of material is not large. He has been able to discover in all but fifty charters of these sovereigns, besides twelve forgeries and some scattered references to others documents, and, thanks to the excellent studies of M. Ferdinand Lot on this period, he has not been able to bring out much that is new for its history. The diplomatic introduction is a model of sober and concise statement, and occasionally, as in the account of the chancery, it throws light on the vicissitudes of royal power during these reigns and the growing demoralization toward the end. M. Prou deals with a longer period, and the one hundred and seventy-two charters which he has collected furnish the indispensable basis for the still unwritten history of Philip I.'s reign. On the whole, though, the perusal of these documents is disappointing, both for political history and for the study of institutions. Philip I. was not a personage of importance, and while his long reign fell in a notable period of history, his own official acts throw singularly little light upon his times.

Both volumes are admirable types of what such works should be. The text has been established with scrupulous care, the various copies and earlier editions are fully indicated, and the typography is excellent. To many the pains taken will seem almost too great, for the index refers regularly to lines as well as pages, and the list of copies is extended to the point of including all modern transcripts, even when they have no value for the text. The introductions are important contributions to diplomatics, and it is a convenience to be able to consult them in the same volume with the charters instead of having to seek them elsewhere, as in the case of the series with which this one takes rank, the *Diplomata* of the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica.*

CHARLES H. HASKINS.

English Society in the Eleventh Century: Essays in English Mediæval History. By PAUL VINOGRADOFF, D.C.L., LL.D., Corpus Professor of Jurisprudence in the University of Oxford. (Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1908. Pp. xii, 599.)

THE middle ground between the conditions described in his two earlier works, the *Growth of the Manor,* in so far as it is a study of origins, and *Villainage in England,* a study of the perfected manor, Professor Vinogradoff has covered with a close and systematic investigation into the social conditions disclosed by *Domesday Book.* He has cut, in a sense, a section across English society at the moment when Norman institutions and customs were being imposed upon the already complex conditions resulting from Scandinavian occupations and the natural development of the Anglo-Saxons. In the first of the two essays into which the book is divided he approaches the subject from above, discussing the influence of public law on society as seen, first, in the military organization necessary for the defense of the country, the *fyrd,*

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the *here,* the feudal host; second, in the maintenance of order by means of judicial institutions, public and private; third, in the assessment and collection of the revenue necessary for the support of the government. In the second essay he deals directly with the actual conditions of rural life—with the manor, the soke, the township and the classes of society. This comprehensive arrangement of material has enabled him to include in his discussion many of the intricate problems of early English history. The subject-matter is complex, the argument highly detailed and technical, and sometimes difficult to follow, but clarity and unity of treatment have been secured for the work as a whole by a close dependence upon *Domesday Book.* Earlier and later conditions are treated only in so far as they are explanatory or illustrative of those described in the Great Survey.

Of great value is the insistence on the "fundamental dualism" of life in preconquestual England, on the necessity, that is to say, of distinguishing clearly the conditions in the Scandinavian North and East from those in the Saxon South and West. The difference which Professor Vinogradoff finds is not so much one of essential characteristics, legal, political, or economic, as of time and stage of development, the Northern and Eastern counties presenting in the eleventh century conditions not generally dissimilar to those which must have been reached by the South and West in the ninth and tenth centuries. The distinction is seen, for example, in the military organization of the two districts. The "remarkable congestion of small freemen in the Danish districts", and also the "heterogeneous mass of tenures" in which these freemen still played a great part, were not peculiarly Danish, but rather a later appearance of conditions that must have been common throughout England at an earlier date, and the *here* of Harold which was drawn from these freemen must, therefore, have resembled the *fyrd* of the seventh and eighth centuries. In the South, on the other hand, large units of land under separate landlords had been formed, the military service of which was being rendered by a class of more or less professional soldiers, who had naturally become the lords of the "professional labourers". The feudal military tenure of the Conquest did not, then, come to the North as a natural growth, but was imposed prematurely on a region where military service was not yet clearly attached to definite stretches of land, whereas in the South the ground was in part prepared, and the carving out of knights' fees was easy to accomplish. The Conquest brought a definition of the service due from fees, and a differentiation of the knights, in "point of quality of service and tenure" from other freemen. It brought also, Professor Vinogradoff believes, an attempt at the construction of normal or average knights' fees, the large or ordinary fee and the Mortain fee.

These conclusions regarding military service are an indication of the lines of argument in several other general directions. The gradual differentiation of the military class, the growth of the landed aris-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tocracy and the accompanying dismemberment of public institutions by franchises, the weight of taxation, all of these factors in social life led necessarily, since the balance of society had to be maintained, to the increasing dependence of that part of the population which was engaged in agricultural labor. Manorialization by various processes and under different names had advanced far in the non-Scandinavian counties by the time of the Conquest, although not so far nor so uniformly as the Domesday commissioners would have us believe. The allowance that is made for the many possible lines of development of the manor, and, with it, of the class of villeins, is very important, and also the examination of the distribution of the various types of settlements in certain counties along lines not ethnological, and the variations in the meaning of the Domesday *manerium*. Professor Vinogradoff finds that Domesday manors are not uniform, but may be divided into five types, the form depending in a great measure upon the existence of a demesne or home farm, and of the jurisdictional tie, or soke. The division into *inland* and *warland* and the relation of the parts of the manor to the geld is carefully studied. Back of the manor, and, in a sense, underneath it, Professor Vinogradoff finds the township the earlier, natural unit of society, an agricultural community with a certain corporate character, with by-laws of its own, in origin composed of a group of freemen who held each a hide, and who rendered military service and followed the communal courts. This "independent township", and side by side with it the "private estate cultivated by slaves or serfs", are "the fundamental units underlying the manorial organization".

Domesday Book remains slow to disclose all her secrets, but many of her difficult statements have gained new life and meaning from Professor Vinogradoff's investigations. Certainty, or even common agreement, on all points cannot be expected in a period for which the evidence is incomplete and difficult to interpret. Professor Vinogradoff's book is, however, much more than a series of special and important Domesday studies. Its highest value lies in the fact that it is a reasonable, well-ordered explanation of English society at an important moment, an explanation which is the result of a very comprehensive understanding of a difficult subject, and which shows a remarkable constructive power generally restrained by a knowledge of facts gained from the laborious compiling of Domesday statistics.

Les Légendes Épiques: Recherches sur la Formation des Chansons de Geste. Par JOSEPH BÉDIER, Professeur au Collège de France Volume I. *Le Cycle de Guillaume d'Orange.* (Paris: Honoré Champion. 1908. Pp. 431.)

THE accepted theory of the origin of the leading French epic poems makes them at their inception ballads, celebrating the hero of some contemporaneous event. These ballads would grow with time into half-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

narrative poems, and would absorb songs on local heroes who bore the same name. Finally poetical invention would come in, and complete the transformation of lyric into epic. This theory, hitherto unquestioned in its general outlines, is now tested by M. Bédier's studies, which begin with the volume on the cycle of William of Orange. Sifting out the history scattered through the French poems and the Latin legends on William, and comparing it with authentic statements of ninth-century writers, M. Bédier finds that both sources agree in making William a leader against the Saracens under Charlemagne and Louis, his son, and in converting him to monkhood in his later years. But he also discovers that this slight historical residuum could have been supplied to the minstrels by the records of the rival monasteries of Aniane and Gellone, with which William was connected, and that some facts, including the name of William's wife, could have been supplied only by these records. As to the absorption of the legends on local Williams by the epic of the great William, who was duke of Toulouse, in history, there is no evidence at all. All the Williams of the poems are manifestations of the one real warrior-saint, and the particular poem which is supposed to prove a multiplicity of Williams, the *Couronnement de Louis,* is shown in a hundred or more brilliant pages to prove the opposite. It has unity of hero, and unity of action.

The historical element in the cycle being determined and its distribution through the leading poems clearly shown, the question as to the respective dates of these principal poems and the nature and composition of their immediate predecessors arises. Analyses of all the epic material on William which is available, confirmed by the lesson drawn from a comparison of the earliest-known poem of the cycle, the *Chanson de Guillaume,* with its later revisions, seem to establish beyond a doubt that the poems at hand, and surely the reworkings of the *Chanson de Guillaume,* are more consistent, less unfinished, more reasonable than the compilations which preceded them. And epic development, if development there is, is from the disorderly to the orderly, from the confused to the logical.

The cycle of William of Orange, therefore, is in no sense the final form of folk-songs, contemporaneous with the events and heroes celebrated, and gradually evolving from simplicity to complexity. On the contrary it owes its birth to the rivalry of the monasteries of Aniane and Gellone, which exploited William's actual relations with themselves. To attract to their shrines the pilgrims who journeyed along the neighboring highway from Paris to Santiago, they magnified in emulation the prowess of the soldier-saint, whose tomb they guarded and relics of whom they provided for the worship of the faithful. And making common cause with the minstrels, who won their bread along the same artery of piety and commerce, they entered into collaboration with them for their mutual profit, furnishing the material which the singers embellished and carried abroad. The peculiar facts drawn from the records

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of the monasteries, and certain Provençal forms of proper names in the poems betray this conspiracy.

The importance of M. Bédier's conclusions cannot be minimized. They affect the history of epic poetry in all ages. However they may be received, they will compel by the force and incisiveness of the arguments through which they are reached the adoption of a more practical method by other investigators, and one which will be more productive in lasting results. So far as the cycle of William is concerned, M. Bédier has destroyed the idea of a fusion of separate traditions in the legend of one glorious homonym. And at the same time he has disclosed the great source of its epic material in the stories of interested monasteries, fabricated for the use of minstrels. But the period for this partnership, which M. Bédier would set near the first Crusades, when the vagabond singers, filled with pious zeal, would come upon the relics of the great Christian chieftain and would learn of his deeds, seems too late by half a century or more. And, after all, how did the monks become aware of the value of their assets? Has M. Bédier positively proven that popular tradition, nay, even a folk-song, did not give them the hint?

F. M. Warren.

The Dawn of the Constitution, or the Reigns of Henry III. and Edward I. (A. D. 1216–1307). By Sir James H. Ramsay, Bart., of Bamff, M.A., LL.D. (London: Swan Sonnenschein and Company; New York: The Macmillan Company. 1908. Pp. xxxii, 591.)

In this work Sir James Ramsay continues his essentially narrative history of England through the reigns indicated. The interpretation of events is to be gathered, partly from direct statement, but mainly from the sequence of the action. This does not mean, however, that the author does not evince decided views as to interpretation or emphasis.

So far from giving the customary laudation to the political activity of the Franciscans in Henry's reign, Sir James plainly minimizes and even deprecates it. Although, of course, bound to mention their relations with Earl Simon, Bishop Grosseteste and the University of Oxford (pp. 51, 116, 136, note 2, 247), he lays equal stress on their utility to the king and pope, particularly in matters of finance (pp. 92, 115 ff.; *cf.* p. 213). The authorship of the *Carmen de Bello Lewensi* is definitely assigned to a non-Franciscan writer (p. 303, note 5).

Equally notable is the attitude of reserve adopted toward Simon de Montfort in general, and in particular toward his Gascon administration (pp. 132, 135; *cf.* pp. 246–247, *et passim*). Sir James, moreover, obviously thinks the "Forte nominabitur recte leopardus" of the *Song of Lewes* a better text for treating Edward than the "Pactum Serva" of the tomb at Westminster. Apparently the author would agree with Professor Jenks's view that Edward was probably waiting for Llewelyn

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"to commit himself beyond forgiveness". Edward treated Llewelyn "with liberality", says he, "so far as money went, but it is not clear that in other respects he gave him a fair trial" (p. 335). The whole carefully written account of Scottish relations points to conscious duplicity on Edward's part. In particular are alleged the violation of the treaty of Brigham (pp. 381 ff.; *cf.* p. 380), the suppression of the protest of the Scottish *Communitas* (p. 384), the small part played by the Scottish arbiters among the One Hundred and Four (p. 394), the falsification of the records (pp. 385, 395, note 5) and the cancellation of the treaty of Brigham (p. 397). "Balliol was not a man of great parts, but he was no felon; he had behaved far more honourably to Edward than Edward had to him" (p. 427). The treatment of the Scottish question is one of the most valuable parts of the book, and a helpful supplement to other English histories.

That topical treatment which is so helpful in dealing with constitutional problems is obviously impossible in a strictly narrative account. One cannot but feel, in addition, that the author is somewhat inclined to read the present into the past. He follows Bishop Stubbs in seeing a not improbable origin of the doctrine of ministerial responsibility in the regency during Henry III.'s minority, and what amounts "in modern phrase to a demand for Ministerial responsibility to Parliament" is made by the twelve representatives of the prelates, earls and barons in 1244 (pp. 46, 108; *cf.* Charles Bémont, *Simon de Montfort,* p. 111, and G. B. Adams, AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW, XIII. 726, note 24). On the other hand we note with pleasure the very subordinate position (in a foot-note, p. 418, note 4) accorded the familiar *quod omnes tangit,* etc., of the clerical writs of 1295; and if Montfort's Parliament of 1265 is not discussed at length, its essentially opportunistic and temporary nature is indicated (p. 234). A hint only is accorded the process of the development of representation (p. 146), although a discussion of Riess's views of early Parliamentary rights and the working of borough-representation would have been welcome—as well indeed as of Professor Jenks's account of the Edwardian jurisprudence.

In matters of general accuracy and apparatus somewhat is left to be desired. The List of Authors Cited is not very scientifically worked out. Questions of edition and date are loosely cared for; we miss such familiar names as Bémont, Riess and Jenks; there is a tendency to cite older rather than more recent writers, Green and Martin for example rather than Sabatier and the Lavisse history—not that the statements are unreliable, but that the utility of the note to the student seeking the last word is sensibly diminished. Occasional use is made of the Lavisse history. The unity of the paragraph is not always preserved (*e. g.,* pp. 368-369), and sharp transitions in subject-matter are sometimes confusing (*e. g.,* pp. 28-30). There are obvious misprints and *lapsus calami* (pp. 4, note 5; 6, note 7; 383, 520). In note 2, p. 422, the reference to "Rot. Parl. IV, 427" might with

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

propriety have been altered to the original record, *Rot. Parl.*, I. 117. In note 2, p. 145, the reference should be to *Epp.*, no. 128, instead of to no. 123. "Similiter" is intrusive in page 418, note 4. The inference that Bek was a sorely abused man in the Quo Warranto proceedings (p. 422) is hardly consonant with the bishop's easy evasion of the issue and the fact that these proceedings, taken in connection with the trial of Archbishop Romanus shortly before, brought the Durham franchise to its highest point.

Sir James Ramsay has again done a great service, especially to students, who may at any time be helped by one or another apparently superfluous detail. Single minor incidents are made to contribute to the progress of the story; familiar dramatic events are sanely and soberly described (pp. 328, 409); the royal finance is treated with unique fullness and clearness; the military element is not preponderant. The historian has, within his limits of matter and form, provided "those desirous of knowing the cardinal facts of English history with a consecutive and verified narrative" (preface, p. v).

ROBERT K. RICHARDSON.

Marine World Chart of Nicolo de Canerio Januensis, 1502 (circa). A Critical Study with Facsimile, by EDWARD LUTHER STEVENSON, Ph.D., Professor of History in Rutgers College. Issued under the joint auspices of the American Geographical Society and the Hispanic Society of America. (New York. 1908. Facsimile map, ten folio sheets; key-map, one folio sheet; octavo text; pp. 115.)

THIS is the second publication in a series of maps illustrating early discovery and exploration in America, issued under the joint auspices of the above societies, of which Mr. Archer M. Huntington is the head and patron. The initial publication, the world-map of Jodocus Hondius (1611), was noticed in the REVIEW (XIII. 179). The original map is a manuscript on coarse parchment, measuring 225 by 115 cm., inclusive of the border, and is well drawn and colored in green, blue, red and gold. It is one of the choicest treasures in the Archives du Service Hydrographique de la Marine, of Paris, and seems to have come originally to the French Department of State about the year 1669. For years it had lain neglected, hence is yellowed, much crinkled and the edges are badly frayed. Its antecedent history is unknown. Professor L. Gallois presented the first extended notice of it in 1890. Some years ago the French government had a few photographic copies printed, and outlines of facsimile reductions of sections have appeared in several works, by Gallois, Marcel, Harrisse, Ravenstein and others. But the present facsimile in the original size, dissected on ten large folio sheets, is its first publication in full for scholars and libraries, at the moderate price of twenty dollars. It required the ingenuity of

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

an expert photographer to make the negatives, and an equally expert firm to multiply it by the gelatine process. The joint results of the French photographer and the F. A. Ringler Company, of New York, are of a superior excellence.

Canerio, of whom almost nothing is known, was a native of Italy, and he calls himself a Genoese in an inscription in the lower lefthand corner of the map: "Opus Nicolay de Canerio Ianuensis"; yet he employs, in the main, the Portuguese language for nomenclature and legends, and more or less corruptly. Although undated, the year of the map is determined approximately as 1502, because it records "no original entry of discovery after 1502". In fact, it belongs to the same type of marine charts or portolani as the Cantino map (1502), which it resembles in nomenclature, and Professor Stevenson suggests that both may be modifications from a now lost common original. Yet, the Canerio chart has important additions, represents a greater scientific value, and is believed to be the oldest marine chart which marks degrees of latitude. Besides being one of the oldest known maps on which any portion of the New World is given, it is also among the first maps to break away from Ptolemaic traditions in outlining the Far East; is one of the first maps employing a grouping of wind-roses; and it or its prototype exerted an unequalled influence on the cartography of the New World for a quarter of a century, on such men as Waldseemüller (1507 and 1516) and Frisius (1525).

Professor Stevenson's critical text lays emphasis upon the place-nomenclature of the New World and Africa, and the sources and influence of Canerio's map. His comparative tables of geographical names (27 pp.) present a parallel study *de novo* of the Cantino, Canerio, Pilestrina, Waldseemüller (1507) and Waldseemüller (1516) great maps. He gives also a complete list (4½ pp.) of the Names and Legends of Canerio beyond Cape Guardafui. Anybody familiar with cartography realizes the difficulties of reading correctly these old maps, and how much the subject is yet in penumbra. Different pairs of eyes interpret differently; yet, we believe, the following must be classed as errata in Stevenson's Canerio columns—the only portions investigated by the reviewer under intensified light manipulated by a strong glass, *viz.*: p. 85 read .y. Santa for *.y. Sanra*; caty for *cary*; p. 88 read Rio de Sam Fransesco for *Rio de sam Francesco*; p. 91 read .C. de cant̃i for *.C. de can̄ri*; caffin for *caffim*; rio de sancus for *rio de saneus*; bulleza for *vulleza*; p. 92 read ang^{a} de S^{o} desuit^{a}, or ang^{a} de So^{o} desint^{a} for *ang^{a} de S^{o} desuiro*; p. 94 read C. roixo for *C. roix*; p. 97 read perhaps todas barbas for *rodas barbas*; .c. damon for *.c. darnore*; p. 99 read Rio fermoso for *Rio fremoso*; rio de S. miguel for *Rio de S. moguel*; rio de peto de sinta for *rio de pero de sinta*; p. 100 read Serra guerera for *Serra querero*; cauo de .S. iohā for *cauo de .S. johā*; insulla de corissco for *insulla de corisco*; p. 103 read read plaia darca for *plaia darea*; p. 104 read Santo anbroxio for *Santo Ambroxio*; p. 105 read Cabo de bona

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

speransa for *Cabo de boa speransa*; p. 106 read ilehaos decruz for *ilcheos dacruz*; p. 108 read Gorffo de meros for *Gorffo de meras*; Rio de bono sutaes for *Rio de bono futaes*; p. 109 read insulla primeras for *insulla primera*; monbacha for *moncacha*; p. 114 read in column 1, line 3, preciosa for *pecciosa*; also a few others of less importance. He dates (p. 66) the first voyage of Diogo Cão or Cam as beginning in 1484; but Cão received his orders in 1482, and set out from Lisbon, Ravenstein believes, in June of that year, returning to Portugal before April, 1484 (*Geog. Jour.*, XVI. 628–629; *cf.* XXXI. 591, 614–615). Martin Behaim was not with Cão's second expedition in 1485 (*Geog. Jour.*, XVI. 633). It is now known that none of the "padrãos" or pillars set up by Cão contained any part of the inscriptions in Arabic (*Geog. Jour.*, XVI. 642, note). Ravenstein's most recent indentifications, apparently overlooked by Stevenson, locate the four pillars of Cão, (1) at the mouth of the Congo, (2) at "Cabo do Lobo" (now Cape St. Mary)—during the first voyage; and (3) at "Monte Negro" (now Cabo Negro), (4) "Cabo do Padrão" (now Cape Cross)—during the second voyage. Rock inscriptions, commemorating a landing during the second voyage were found some years ago at the mouth of the river Mpozo, a tributary of the Congo (*Geog. Jour.*, XXXI. 590). Professor Stevenson is doing commendable work for historical cartography in America.

VICTOR HUGO PALTSITS.

Slavonic Europe: a Political History of Poland and Russia from 1447 to 1796. By R. NISBET BAIN. (Cambridge: University Press. 1908. Pp. viii, 452.)

"SLAVONIC EUROPE" is hardly an accurate title for a book which treats of only Russia and Poland. It is, of course, difficult to disentangle the events of the confused history of even these countries within the compass of 450 pages, and Mr. Bain has not been fully equal to the task. He has crowded his book with useless detail, probably as a result of hasty writing which leaves too little time to discriminate between the essential and the unessential.

What English-speaking students need in a history of Russia and Poland is an intelligent and clear explanation of the principal institutions of these countries, of the principal events of their history, and of the principal causes of these events. Mr. Bain probably knows this as well as anyone else, but he certainly has not given a clear idea of the principal institutions of Russia and Poland, nor of the principal events of their history. He has, however, succeeded to a much greater extent in pointing out the principal causes. He would in all probability have done much more in respect to institutions and events, if he had not given so much space to military and diplomatic history. There is entirely too much of this.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

There are some annoying uses of words, which seem almost as puerile as annoying. Thus, Mr. Bain insists on using the Russian word for annalist though the meaning of the English word is exactly the same. Again, he uses Stambul for Constantinople, except when speaking of the Patriarch. He is not always consistent in this, however. Added to the rather pretentious use of Polish and Russian words, and unusual designations, one finds frequent evidence of haste in the use of proper names. Thus he speaks of Kievlians and Kievlyan; he mentions the well-known Novodyevechy nunnery; but what does he mean when he calls it the Dyevichesky monastery? Why Svety Krest and Svyestui Krest? Why Marienberg and Wittenburg? And Lowositz and Bagchaserai? Why, if he says George Lubomirsky and James Dolgoruki, should he say Hieronymus Radziejowski and Yakov Dolgoruki? Why use Ermak and Yermak? If Ermak were correct (as it is not), he ought to write Avorsky instead of Yavorsky.

The use of sources does not strike a reviewer as critical. Most of the old stories are accepted without the least hesitation. Even where critical skill is not requisite, the writer is far from being impeccable, for he is too much given to hasty judgments: Sophia Paleologa, we are told, "was certainly superior, both in craft and courage, to any of her contemporaries", but Louis XI. was a contemporary of Sophia. It is almost absurd to say that the least Sobieski "had to expect from his subjects was loyalty", for the words subject and loyalty can hardly be used in speaking of the relations of Poles to their kings. Peter's sister Sophia did not refute the Old Believers; Peter the Great was not a "singularly backward child", and Mr. Bain's evidence to support the assertion does not support it.

It must be admitted that there is considerable information in the book, that Mr. Bain properly emphasizes the causes of historical events, that he gives an excellent account of the relations between Russia and Poland, and that he has great skill in drawing life-like portraits. But all in all, the book is disappointing.

RALPH C. H. CATTERALL.

History and Ethnography of Africa south of the Zambesi. In three volumes. By GEORGE MCCALL THEAL, Litt.D., LL.D., formerly Keeper of the Archives of the Cape Colony and at present Colonial Historiographer. Volume I. *The Portuguese in South Africa from 1505 to 1700.* (London: Swan Sonnenschein and Company. 1907. Pp. xxii, 501.)

THIS is the first volume of the third and rearranged and enlarged edition of Dr. Theal's great work on the history of South Africa. According to the new plan, series one, extending to 1795, will contain two additional volumes on the Dutch in Cape Colony and on the relations of the Dutch, Portuguese, Hottentots and Bantu. Series two contains

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

volumes already familiar, though apparently the fifth and last volume, covering the period 1861–1872, is undergoing a revision. As the result of the separate publication, sometimes under varying titles, of books later included in a series, the bibliography of Dr. Theal's works is somewhat confusing.

The genesis of this volume may be traced through *The Beginnings of South Africa* (1902) to *The Portuguese in South Africa* (1896) and finally to volume I. of the first edition of *The History of South Africa* (1888). In the present edition there is unfortunately no sufficient indication of these facts as well as of others of like character which cannot be taken up at this time.

The whole set is based in large part on the personal observations and studies of the author as to native races and on the invaluable collections of documents which he has edited in time past for the government of Cape Colony; in particular, the *Records of South Eastern Africa* is the set of which a partial digest and summary is given in the course of the last 300 pages of the book under review. In the edition of 1902 a short bibliography was given (now omitted), but no references were supplied; likewise in the present edition. The result is that, though the serious student would in any case turn to the documents, even the investigator of a particular point is left almost helpless to verify some significant statement. The lack of an index, which is supposedly retained for concluding volumes, will also tend to decrease the prompt usefulness of this volume. Yet we are gladly grateful for the book as it stands.

In particular it is worth noting how Dr. Theal has grown in concise and sober statement, how he now refuses to commit himself as to points on which when less familiar he wrote, not always with caution. Thus, on the Ophir question we may read (p. 101 in ed. 1902) "Probably many centuries before the commencement of the Christian era, people more civilized than the Bantu, but still very far from reaching the level of modern Europeans, made their appearance on the central table-land of Africa south of the Zambesi. They were Asiatics, but of what nationality is uncertain. It is indeed possible, if not probable, that they came from the great commercial city of Tyre", etc. In the present volume (p. 174) we read "At some unknown period in the past the territory between the Zambesi and the Limpopo rivers was occupied by people more advanced in knowledge than the Bantu who were found living there at the beginning of the sixteenth century. Their nationality is uncertain and nearly everything connected with them is involved in mystery. . . . It is not impossible, though it is only a conjecture of some writers, that traders from the great commercial city of Tyre on the Eastern shore of the Mediterranean Sea visited them", etc. The difference here indicated, while perhaps not typical, is at least indicative of some of the gains of the newer book for the student.

The notably welcome features of the book are due to the relatively

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

large space given to native races and to the relations between Europeans and natives, and to the fact that while other books which deal with the history of European expansion rush past Africa to Asia, here you find what you may often have wondered at but have rarely found explained. In return the book would have gained had greater attention been paid to the relation of European expansion in Africa to that in Asia, though such a perspective would have made the book somewhat less exclusively a history of South Africa. In any case, Dr. Theal's industry and ability have here a fitting embodiment.

ALFRED L. P. DENNIS.

Les Origines du Schisme Anglican (1509–1571). Par J. DE TRÉSAL. (Paris: Victor Lecoffre. 1908. Pp. xxiii, 460.)

THIS book is one of the volumes which compose the *Bibliothèque de l'Enseignement de l'Histoire Ecclésiastique* initiated in 1897 at the suggestion of Leo XIII. with the avowed object of producing a "histoire ecclésiastique universelle, mise au point des progrès de la critique de notre temps". Save for the first chapter of 21 pages, which treats of the earlier reforming movements in England, the book deals with the history of the English church from the accession of Henry VIII. to the excommunication of Elizabeth.

In his preface, the author expresses his desire to write "un récit impartial, clair et puisé aux bonnes sources", but this laudable intention has not been very fully carried out in practice. The closing pages of the book form a startling contrast to its earlier professions of impartiality. After telling us that the Anglican church "ne sort pas des entrailles de la nation", but originated in the "caprice d'Henri VIII. pour une jeune fille irlandaise", M. de Trésal concludes with a hope that "quand l'État aura retiré son patronage à leur Église" Englishmen will remember "que Henri VIII. et Élisabeth ont fondé le schisme contre la volonté de la majorité de la nation" and turn a sympathetic ear to the call of the Church of Rome "qui a besoin de l'esprit raisonnable et pratique, des fortes qualités morales de la race anglaise".

To follow every winding of the somewhat tortuous path by whch M. de Trésal connects these two opposing standpoints would demand far more space than is allotted to this review. It may not however be amiss to point out a few of the most important causes of his divagations, especially as they are common to many of the Catholic historians of sixteenth-century England, who profess to write according to the canons of modern historical criticism. In the first place, our author's bibliographical knowledge leaves much to be desired. He is either unacquainted with or else wilfully disregards a large majority of the scientific works dealing with his field which have been published since 1900. In the second place, he looks to such high-church and semi-Romanist historians as Dixon and Gairdner as representng fairly the

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Protestant point of view, and scarcely gives his reader an inkling of the fact that such authors as Pollard and Fisher interpret the course of events in a very different, and, on the whole, more generally accepted manner. Lastly, M. de Trésal's knowledge of the political history of the period is somewhat scanty; his general standpoint is as essentially clerical and foreign as that of most of the men with whom his book deals was lay and national, and the net result is that his work totally fails to fulfill its initial promise of impartiality. Hence his inability to see no deeper cause for the English Reformation than Henry VIII.'s passion for the "jeune fille irlandaise"; hence his surprisingly one-sided account of the result of the suppression of the monasteries.

It would be unjust to M. de Trésal to imply that his book is utterly without merit. As he rightly says, the period with which he deals is little known in France, and there was plenty of room for a work which affords, as his does, a fairly clear and readable presentation of one side of the case. The pity is that he does not intimate that there is any other side, that his book should claim impartiality, when, by a series of almost imperceptible gradations, it develops, from what professes to be an impartial beginning, almost into the position of a polemic at the end.

ROGER BIGELOW MERRIMAN.

Corpus Schwenckfeldianorum. Published under the auspices of the Schwenckfelder Church, Pennsylvania, and the Hartford Theological Seminary, Connecticut. Volume I. *A Study of the Earliest Letters of Caspar Schwenckfeld von Ossig.* Editor, CHESTER DAVID HARTRANFT, Hartford Theological Seminary; Associate Editors, OTTO BERNHARD SCHLUTTER, ELMER ELLSWORTH SCHULTZ JOHNSON, Hartford Theological Seminary. (Leipzig: Breitkopf and Härtel. 1907. Pp. viii, lxxi, 661.)

WHOEVER has wandered through the pamphlets and letters of the sixteenth-century reformers has grown used to meeting at every turn a certain Silesian nobleman, refined of bearing, courteous of spirit, affable of address despite a slight hardness of hearing, but uniting with his gentleness, as so often do the slightly deaf, an opinionated persistence which was the despair of the oracles of Lutheran and Zwinglian orthodoxy. An exile, pushed from town to town of Germany by their distrust and growing hate, and soon, so far as censorship had power, excluded from the printer's aid, his imperturbable individualism found utterance still, and notably in long expository letters to the elect souls who in all the warring communions gave ear to his peaceful teaching of the religion of the spirit and the freedom of the conscience. But these epistolary pamphlets, read to pieces by friends or torn to pieces by foes, could only in part be gathered up by the courageous disciples who straightway after his death (1561) undertook a collective edition of his writings; and the four volumes they succeeded in printing, pro-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

scribed and hunted down, have long been excessively rare. Yet it has been known that there lurked in German libraries the materials for a far more complete reproduction of the teachings of Caspar Schwenckfeld; and it was with joy that students of the Reformation learned some twenty years ago that such a task had been undertaken by the little remnant of his followers, who now for nearly two centuries have found a refuge in America. The enterprise found a natural leader in a scholar of their own number, the Rev. Dr. Hartranft, then professor of church history in the Hartford Theological Seminary, of which he has since for many years been president; and that institution has lent also its support to the undertaking, at last relinquishing Dr. Hartranft entirely to this research.

The first fruits of these years of labor lie before us. The handsome volume suggests those of the great Weimar edition of Luther. An opening "Advertisement" tells us the history of the work and a long introduction by the editors sets forth their plans. Beginning with the complete works of Schwenckfeld—the prospectus reckons them at seventeen volumes—they hope to add those of the other advocates of "the Middle Way". A history, too, of the Middle Way is in their plan, and to that they leave the biography of Schwenckfeld, here but summarizing his life and devoting the bulk of their space to an exposition of what they conceive his fundamental tenets—individualism, the rights of the laity, Christian liberty, brotherhood, freedom of religious assembly, the superiority of spirit to letter, the supreme importance of character, spiritual unity, the training of the conscience, a religion biblical and mystical rather than speculative, and the application of religion to social betterment. Then, with but a glance at his eucharistic views, at his Christology and at certain misconceptions of his teaching, they outline the unusual plan followed in the publication of his writings. The text of each pamphlet, each letter, is not only preceded by the usual bibliographical and critical preface and followed by a translation, but to each is further added a glossary and three excursuses—on its language, on the history involved in it, and on its theology. How costly this must be in repetition they recognize; but "it is only by continuous reaffirmation", they think, "that one can get a hearing under the stolid system of orthodoxy which has shaped historic judgment and style." Yet one may doubt whether a plan which in this thick volume gives us but a half-dozen documents—some sixty pages of text to six hundred of comment—makes a hearing absolutely certain. At least they assure us they have "tried not to overburden their pages with constant references"; for, "in the attempt to be scientific, editors and historians have fallen into the reprehensible fashion of multiplying the vouchers for their integrity, whereas anyone who is a student of the particular period ought to look up the whole subject for himself." Some critic will try to verify the citations, "and will crow lustily if he thinks he has found an error"; wherefore he "ought to find little apparatus to help him in this favorite abuse of science".

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Yet the serious blemish of their work is by no means as this might lead one to suspect, a lack of wide and accurate knowledge, but rather an excessive expansiveness and a want of the best-schooled editorial training. Three noble products of contemporary scholarship, the great critical editions of Calvin, of Luther and of Zwingli, might well have served them as a model; and the rules for the editing of sources have in Germany been codified with especial care. The editors of Schwenckfeld profit by these, indeed, but for the most part prefer their own way. Their manuscripts, thus far Schwenckfeld's autographs (a pity that they could not give us even a single facsimile), they edit with great care, but with a superstitious reverence (retaining the most palpable slips in text instead of notes) and with a somewhat inadequate palaeographic experience (*e. g.*, the familiar abbreviation for final *-us* no more than any other needs reproduction in print, and the word which, page 10, they read *sma* and interpret as *summa* is clearly the *snia* of *sententia*). Their printed sources are most conscientiously reproduced, the title-pages in facsimile. Their translations are rather paraphrases, with words and even clauses inserted for edification. Their excursuses are learned but diffuse. What much more than repetition or fewness of citations strikes one in these, as throughout the volume, is the surprising diction. In part, this, like the odd German punctuation and capitalization, is but suggestive of the editors' German blood and training. Stillstand, ethicality, tendentists, letterism, tactuality, Christic, favorment, accommodational, celebrative, reinstaurating, futuristic, reluctatingly—such are a few of the strange words with which they enrich the English tongue. Rare ones as queerly replace familiar: a reviewer becomes a recensionist, a dogmatist a dogmatician, punctuation interpunction, an insane asylum a house of errancy. But their contributions to literary English are by no means all drawn from foreign sources. If Schwenckfeld, as they regretfully admit, fell short of Luther in "capacity for turning slang into golden speech", his editors need fear no such comparison. "Stacks and castles of hopes", "the cocky airs of the preachers", "the tony oligarchy of Geneva", "the inherent cussedness of man", "lots of faith", "the clerics did want to silence him the worst sort", "toplofty airs", "priestly bib and tucker", "an absurdity of the first water", "the bibulous fluidity current in social channels", "to boss and hetchel an inferior", "pestillential critics", "cleaned his feet on his own mental reservation", "to swipe him as a naughty invader", "chuck full of ancient and lively tares"—these phrases barely suggest the luxuriant vocabulary with which they do battle for one who, as they tell us, "treated his antagonists with rare grace and courtesy".

Vigorous all this unquestionably is—it fairly reeks with vigor; and one must not forget that the prime purpose of the work is to edify and hearten those two hundred and fifty families of surviving Schwenckfeldians. But the vigor which can thus err in taste is at the price of a defect which mars every page of the book—its intense and intolerant

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

partizanship. To his editors Schwenckfeld's foes are fiends, his friends angels, himself a faultless saint. For development in his character or in his views there is no room; and, what is worse, no room for development between his day and ours. Whatever to these modern Schwenckfeldians is true and right and Christian their master must have taught and practiced. Their study purposes, they tell us, "to set him before us as if he were now thinking and speaking and writing among us". "He had a prophetic insight into the requirements of the future life of the Church and we may justly claim that modern Christianity is approximating his views. If therefore we are accused of forgetting the age and commingling with Reformation times the phases and phrases of the present day, it would be true and it would also be justifiable because there is only a difference of a few words; the thoughts are precisely the same." So John Knox might have edited Calvin, or Tilemann Hesshus Luther. So some still edit the New Testament. But it is the method of the sixteenth century, not of the twentieth. It is apology, not critical edition; and no man less than Caspar Schwenckfeld needs apology.

GEORGE L. BURR.

Papsttum und Papstwahl im Zeitalter Philipps II. Von Dr. PAUL HERRE, Privatdozent an der Universität Leipzig. (Leipzig: Teubner. 1907. Pp. xx, 660.)

THIS book is an attempt to estimate the nature of the relations between Philip II. of Spain and the revived and strengthened Catholic Church of the Counter-Reformation, by describing in detail the attitude of the Spanish king to each of the eight popes and papal conclaves of the period of his rule. The author's thesis, briefly summarized, is as follows: It is an error to regard, as most historians do, the course of the relations of Philip II. to the See of Rome as a single consistent development, for the earlier part of his reign was dominated by a principle utterly different from that which inspired the latter. In the sixties and early seventies the Spanish king devoted himself primarily to the maintenance of the principles of the Counter-Reformation; he abandoned political advantage in the interest of the faith, united with the ancient foes of his house for the suppression of heresy, dedicated himself and his people to the cause of Catholicism. In this period Dr. Herre represents him as primarily the servant of Rome, using his influence in papal elections to secure the choice of the candidate most valuable for the interests of the church. But in the later seventies there came a change. The spirit of the Counter-Reformation was waning in France; the old political lines of cleavage had begun to reappear; Philip began to discover that he was draining his land to the dregs in the interests of a foreign power who offered him no reciprocal advantages, and reluctantly exchanged his earlier attitude of abject devotion to the interests of the

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

church for the more patriotic one of solicitude for the welfare of Spain. Gradually he began to require that papal elections be conducted with a view to securing the interests of his country as well as those of Rome, at first by insisting on the debarment from candidacy of cardinals unfriendly to himself (*Exklusion*), later by the more direct method of actually demanding it for his adherents (*Inklusion*), until finally the papacy, feeling that Philip's protection had become a burden, proudly shook it off. Thus the end of the century saw the two powers, which forty years before had been bound together by the closest of ties in the interests of Christendom, almost in an attitude of mutual defiance; the lay striving to dominate the clerical in its own interests, the latter struggling for independence. Viewed from the Spanish standpoint, the story of this long development is a tragic but familiar one—reckless national sacrifice for the sake of an antiquated ideal, exhaustion in the interests of a foreign power, which uses and casts aside but never reciprocates. But it adds one more to the already long list of favorable revisions of the older and more hostile verdicts on the Spanish monarch. Philip's attitude toward the papacy, though not always wise or statesmanlike, was at least far more honorable and loyal to the church than it is usually represented (as, for instance, by Philippson): the first part of his reign is marked by his single-hearted devotion to the cause of Rome, and even at the last that devotion does not falter, though the interests of his country forced him to adopt a more national policy toward the papacy than that with which he had begun.

There can be little doubt that Dr. Herre's conclusions are substantially correct, and students of the period of the Counter-Reformation certainly owe him a debt of gratitude for the thorough and scholarly way in which he has unravelled the tangled skein of events and cross-purposes which determined the issue of the different papal conclaves between 1559 and 1592. Those who are not disposed to accept his conclusions will find their most obvious line of attack in his failure to explain away certain important episodes which militate somewhat against the validity of his general contention. The whole story of Bartolomeo de Carranza, for instance, which is scarcely mentioned at all, is indicative of much which is at variance with Dr. Herre's theories of the relations of the Spanish king and the papacy in the early part of the reign. The omission of such standard works as Cabrera de Córdoba's *Felipe II.* and Lea's *History of the Spanish Inquisition* from the "Verzeichnis der häufiger benutzten Literatur", and several uncorrected misprints in the rendering of Spanish titles and quotations, make one wonder whether Dr. Herre is as familiar with the authorities on the policy of the Escorial, as with those on the Italian states and the papacy. All this, however, is rather by way of suggestion for future amplification and improvement than of adverse criticism. Dr. Herre's book will probably not be perused from cover to cover by many students in this country, but it will doubtless remain for a long time a standard authority for

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

those who wish to acquaint themselves with any phase of Spanish papal politics in the second half of the sixteenth century.

ROGER BIGELOW MERRIMAN.

Blaise de Monluc Historien: Étude Critique sur le Texte et la Valeur Historique des Commentaires. Par PAUL COURTEAULT, Ancien Élève de l'École Normale Supérieure. (Paris: Picard et Fils. 1908. Pp. xlviii, 685.)

AMONG the narrative and military works of French writers of the sixteenth century the *Commentaires* of Blaise de Monluc will always hold a high place. Henry IV. called them "le bréviaire des soldats". They cover in all a period of fifty-four years, from the campaign of Bicocca in Northern Italy in 1521–1522 to the siege of Gensac in the fourth Civil War in July, 1575. The first draft of the greater part of these *Commentaires* was composed very rapidly between November, 1570, and June, 1571, largely from memory, and while the author was smarting under the disgrace of removal from his post of lieutenant of Guienne, and therefore anxious at every turn to justify himself and his conduct; a supplement, characterized by a more philosophic tone, followed in 1576. Monluc's indebtedness to other writers of his time is almost negligible. It is true that in his accounts of the wars of Francis I. and Henry II. he makes use of the works of du Bellay, Jovius, Paradin and Rabutin for the purpose of weaving together the isolated events he describes, and for correction in matters of detail, while for the period of the Civil Wars he relies somewhat on documents—on several occasions reproducing entire the text of important letters, and frequently analyzing and summarizing memoirs and instructions. But it is easy to see that Monluc had supreme confidence in his own really prodigious memory and estimates the value of a description by an eye-witness like himself (though that description might be written years after the event) as far higher than that of the verdict of the professional historian. "Que si je voulois estre historien", he once wrote, "et que le Roy me commandast d'escripre la vérité, je vouldrois bien asseurer que je le ferois aussi bien que homme de France, encores que je ne sois pas grand clerc . . . j'entendz des lieux où j'estois, et non des aultres. Car je ne vouldrois escripre choze aulcune pour ouir dire."

The *Commentaires* have been published and republished a number of times since the appearance of the first edition in 1592 (most recently by the Baron Alphonse de Ruble, in 1864–1867, in the *Collection de la Société de l'Histoire de France*); they have been used, abused, applauded and reviled by chroniclers and historians from Monluc's time to this day. It has remained however to M. Courteault, in the present work, to subject them to the scrutiny of modern critical research. And he has produced a volume which is to the last degree sane, thorough and scholarly from cover to cover. It adds much to our knowledge of the life of

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Monluc as well as to our appreciation of the historical value of his writings, for, in the course of his exhaustive examination of every separate passage of the *Commentaires* M. Courteault has incidentally been led to recount in detail many chapters of the life of their author, which have hitherto remained obscure. The index and table of contents are unusually full and detailed, and the bibliography a boon to all students of sixteenth-century France. An unsigned and unaddressed document in the Record Office (State Papers, Eliz., vol. CXI., no. 612), dated March 2, 1570, and vindicating Monluc's conduct in Quercy and Guienne, alone seems to have escaped the author's notice.[1] An excellent recapitulation at the last summarizes effectively the results of this brilliant investigation and characterizes the *Commentaires* as "une oeuvre composée sans art, touffue, aventureuse, souvent obscure, mais qui, malgré ses imperfections, résiste assez bien à la critique pour mériter d'être toujours consultée avec profit".

ROGER BIGELOW MERRIMAN.

The King's General in the West: the Life of Sir Richard Granville, Bart., 1600–1659. Compiled from various sources by Reverend ROGER GRANVILLE, M.A., Sub-Dean of Exeter Cathedral. (New York and London: John Lane Company. 1908. Pp. xiii, 217.)

A History of the Life of Colonel Nathaniel Whetham, a Forgotten Soldier of the Civil Wars. By CATHERINE DURNING WHETHAM and WILLIAM CECIL DAMPIER WHETHAM, M.A., F.R.S., Fellow and Tutor of Trinity College, Cambridge. (London and New York: Longmans, Green and Company. 1907. Pp. xviii, 237.)

SUCH a happy conjunction as the simultaneous appearance of these lives of Granville and Whetham does not often fall to the reviewer's lot. Almost exact contemporaries, each playing a considerable part in the same stirring events, yet precisely opposed to each other by birth, training and circumstance, temper and habit of mind, political opinion and public service, it would be hard to find two other characters which better typify the Cavalier and Roundhead of history and tradition. At least one historian has voiced the desire felt by many for lives of obscure men at great epochs of history, that there might be deduced from them the real effect on the individual of far-reaching movements. And though neither of the men whose lives are here set down is to be classed as obscure, they serve the better on account of their position the purpose of enabling us to comprehend the drama of the Puritan Revolution.

On the one hand Granville, grandson and namesake of the hero of the *Revenge,* brother of the Bayard of the Civil Wars, Sir Bevill, and

[1] The reviewer is indebted to Professor J. W. Thompson of the University of Chicago for this reference.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

cousin to George Monck, by birth and tradition a Royalist and a soldier, offers a perfect example of one type of Cavalier. Bred to arms from his youth, he served in France, in Germany and the Netherlands under Maurice and Vere, took part in the ill-fated expeditions to Cadiz and Rhé, and, after sitting in Parliament as a blind opponent of the Petition of Right, marrying an heiress to pay his debts, and quarreling with her, her family and his own, completed his military education by six years of Swedish fighting under Swedish commanders in Germany. On the outbreak of trouble with the Scots he returned to enter his king's service, whence he was later despatched to help suppress the Irish rebellion. Recalled from that by the war in England he induced Parliament to vote him money, arms and men and deserted with them to the Royalists. Thereafter he played no small part in the war in the West, contributing at times to the success but as often to the failure of the royal cause, finally imprisoned by his own side, and allowed to escape to the Continent, where he lived until his death at Ghent, about 1659. Loyal, brave, obstinate, contentious, wrong-headed, rash, overbearing, at times cruel, he quarreled with his family, his wife, his friends, his fellow-officers and his superiors till the end, scarcely less of a terror to his own side than to his enemies, yet with a certain curious hold on his followers through it all. Even in the pages of his biographer, who is by no means his apologist, he makes no pleasant picture; nor, with all his fighting qualities and military experience, was he ever quite a success as a commander, completely failing in his one great exploit, the attempt on Plymouth.

Compare with this that stout Parliamentarian Colonel Nathaniel Whetham, who, sprung from a Dorset yeoman family, went to London as a boy, was apprenticed to a baker, busied himself as a young man in promoting the "Company of Husbandmen" to colonize in New England, married his master's widow, and rose to be baker to the Inner Temple. Puritan by instinct, when the city raised troops for the war, like his neighbor the wood merchant, Richard Browne, later Major General Sir Richard, he enlisted, became major of dragoons, and after some service about Oxford was made governor first of Northampton, then of Portsmouth, and finally member of the Council for Scotland. He dared to oppose the extreme Cromwellians at the height of their power, and, returning to his command at Portsmouth, played an important part in co-operating with his former associate, General Monck, in the events leading to the Restoration. Thereafter failing or refusing to swim with the popular current he retired to private life, and declining to compromise with the claimants of the church property he had bought, he died relatively poor and neglected some seven years after the Restoration. Cautious, prudent, brave, conscientious, he offers the best type of Puritan.

In these men we have the Revolution personified, and the biographies have been well worth doing. Bald and sober in themselves, genealogical or antiquarian in tone, when taken separately these plain stories are

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

little inspiring or inspired. Together they are of the highest significance and importance. For those who desire to understand as well as to know such a movement they are invaluable, the more so that, unlike too many such, they are wholly restrained and impartial. Neither is especially remarkable for literary merit or the lack of it. Each is well illustrated with pictures and maps, some of considerable historical or antiquarian value. That many scholars will prefer their own historical judgments on matters outside the direct line of the biographies proper may be evidenced by such assertions as that Whetham was like Monck, that the English navy still smarted from Raleigh's death as late as 1641, that Essex's army could not have been protected after its surrender, or that Clarendon's bitterness toward such men as Granville was not wholly justified. None the less such sound and serious attempts to set before us the careers of men like Whetham and Granville are deserving of praise and encouragement. For it is only by such work that we may ultimately come to comprehend such periods as that of the Puritan Revolution. It is to be hoped that the example thus set may be followed in many more cases, whether the motive be, as here, a proper family pride, or the more disinterested one of pure scholarship.

W. C. Abbott.

English Local Government from the Revolution to the Municipal Corporations Act: the Manor and the Borough. In two parts. By Sidney and Beatrice Webb. (London and New York: Longmans, Green and Company. 1908. Pp. viii, 404; vi, 405–858.)

The present installment of Mr. and Mrs. Webb's great work on English local constitutional history maintains the very high rank of the initial volume, noticed in an earlier number of the Review (April, 1907). Indeed no other book has ever given us so intimate an acquaintance with the institutional side of English social life. The very numerous and detailed marginal notes show that an enormous amount of original material has been thoroughly exploited. The achievement of the authors is especially praiseworthy, because of the amazingly complex and unsystematic character of English local custom and local organization. For this reason it has been found needful to treat in detail a large number of concrete examples or types and to examine a great variety of local records.

The first volume, corresponding to part I., comprises seven chapters of which the first four deal with the manor and the manorial borough. These organizations performed a vast number of governmental functions which in form were "exemptions from or exclusions of" the jurisdictions of the county and the parish. Chapter I., on the Lord's Court, sets forth the familiar "lawyer's view" of the various manorial courts, each with a separate constitution and jurisdiction. There is a

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

strong "tendency to elaboration". Besides the courts baron, customary, and leet, one authority (R. B. Fisher, 1794) makes out the existence of a "court of survey" and of a separate court for "view of frankpledge". But the court of survey was merely a special sitting of the court baron; while the view of frankpledge originally was a duty of the sheriff's turn and later of the lord's court leet. Moreover, for the period 1689-1835, the lord's court, as it actually existed, "differed widely from the lawyer's view of what it ought to have been". On many manors, in practice, there was but one court which, in a single undivided sitting, through one set of officers and one jury, without distinguishable order or precedence, "transacted all the business of the little community". In the majority of cases there was a single undifferentiated court. Although this court was in ruins, as revealed in the second chapter, its functions were still many and important. On thousands of manors it still had a large share in the business of local government. In particular it had the management of the "agricultural operations of the little community". In "nearly every manor there were common pastures; sometimes woods into which the tenants of the manor might send their pigs; sometimes valuable hay-meadows shared by lot or by primitive scramble; more frequently large open 'commons' of coarse herbage; and invariably roadside strips and odds and ends of unoccupied land forming part of the lord's waste." The administration of these common rights formed a part of the business of every manorial court. This fact ought to have a special interest for the student of American local institutions. Is it not probable that here we may find an explanation of the communistic customs of the old New England towns? In the first half of the sixteenth century, all over England, the lord's court was administering the common pastoral or agricultural rights of the tenants. May not a study of manorial rather than of parish customs and records disclose the true origin of the so-called "Germanic" usages of early colonial days?

The third chapter presents a most interesting account of the manorial borough. Under this name is embraced a "somewhat heterogeneous collection of local authorities . . . intermediate between the lord's court and the autonomous municipal corporation creating its own justices of the peace". These are the village meeting, having but slight connection with the manor; the chartered township; the lordless court; the lord's borough; the enfranchised manorial borough; and the borough whose government is shared "between a manorial court and one or more trade gilds". Examples of all these types are discussed in an enlightening way; while a separate chapter (the fourth) is devoted to the most anomalous of them all, the city and borough of Westminster.

Among the many facts of fresh interest with which these chapters are fairly packed, one is particularly impressed with the evidence presented of the manorial origin of many of the functions of the modern city. Such were the authority to suppress nuisances and the general

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

police power exercised by the lord's court. The characteristics of the English manorial boroughs are repeated in those of "fifty or sixty so-called boroughs in Wales", considered in the fifth chapter.

The interest of the reader of these important volumes culminates in the investigation of the municipal corporation, whose distinguishing mark is the creation of its own justices of the peace. To this subject the last third of the first volume and all of the second volume are devoted. For the first time, from an adequate consideration of the original sources, we have here a critical account of this most difficult and important part of English constitutional history. In succession, the instrument of incorporation, the corporate jurisdiction, the corporate obligations, the area of the corporation, the membership of the corporation, the servants of the corporation, the chief officers of the corporation, the head of the corporation, the bailiffs, the high steward and the recorder, the chamberlain and the town clerk, the mayor's brethren and the mayor's counsellors, the courts of the corporation, the courts of civil jurisdiction, the court leet, the borough court of quarter sessions, the courts of specialized jurisdiction, the administrative courts of the municipal corporation, and the municipal constitution of 1689, are carefully considered; while the whole of the seventh chapter deals with municipal disintegration during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

Following this systematic and general analysis of the municipal constitution, 1689–1835, are three chapters devoted to the study of particular corporations. Thus the administration of the close corporations of Penzance, Leeds, Coventry, Bristol, Leicester and Liverpool is treated in chapter VIII.; that of the so-called municipal democracies of Morpeth, Berwick-upon-Tweed, Norwich and Ipswich, in chapter IX.; and the city of London, in chapter X.—an important monograph in itself.

The book concludes with a vigorous estimate of the causes, character and consequences of the municipal revolution effected by the Act of 1835. It is remarkable that until the very eve of that revolution there was no general agitation for the reform of the antiquated municipal corporations. "In spite of the frequent applications to parliament made by the corporations themselves, we have not come across a single petition, from any person whatsoever, praying that the municipal constitution might be changed to an elective one." Only during the fifteen years preceding the appointment of the Royal Commission of 1833 did there exist any real popular movement for reform. Fundamentally this movement was the result of the industrial revolution. The borough constitution was out of harmony with the new economic and commercial needs of society. Moreover it was oppressive to the dissenter. More than was dreamed of at the moment, the municipal revolution threw power into the hands of the Whig nonconformists. "There never was such a coup", exclaims a writer in the *Creevey Papers*, "as this Municipal Reform Bill has turned out to be. It marshals all the middle classes

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

in all the towns of England in the ranks of Reform, aye and gives them monstrous power too. I consider it a much greater blow to Toryism than the Reform Bill [of 1832] itself."

The ready use of the mass of materials comprised in this excellent book is facilitated by an elaborate index of subjects, supplemented by separate indexes of persons and places.

GEORGE ELLIOTT HOWARD.

La Guerre de Sept Ans: Histoire Diplomatique et Militaire. Tome IV. *Torgau; Pacte de Famille.* Par RICHARD WADDINGTON. (Paris: Firmin-Didot et Cie. 1907. Pp. viii, 637.)

THIS new volume of M. Waddington's important work is devoted to the campaigns in eastern and western Germany from the spring of 1760 to that of 1761, to the futile negotiations between France and England during the same period, and to the successful negotiations between France and Spain which resulted in the Family Compact of 1761. The author's plan and methods are now too well known to need description; no deviation from them appears in this volume. The work is on the whole admirably done, and while no strikingly new conclusions are indicated the reader can scarcely help being inspired with strong confidence in M. Waddington's grasp of his material and in the constancy of his effort to deal objectively with it.

It does not seem necessary to repeat the strictures of the author's methods, made by the present reviewer in connection with earlier volumes; in a word, we have here a detailed military and diplomatic narrative of classical style, and the result will undoubtedly be appreciated, and deservedly, by many students. The present installment is divided almost evenly between war and diplomacy; naturally the civilian reader will be chiefly interested in the latter field, embracing as it does incidents of great interest—the fall of Pitt, the close allying of France and Spain, and the latter's entry into the war. The narrative is both lucid and agreeable, and seems to be less overladen with detail than earlier accounts of less important transactions. But there would seem also to be a serious omission in the failure to set forth political conditions in either France or England in such a way as to show us the springs of policy—*why* the policy of France was so mistaken, and *why* Pitt fell. That the author has no new conclusions to present on the former point is shown by his reproach of the French government for being satisfied "se trainer à la remorque de l'alliance autrichienne, sacrifier l'essentiel, la conservation du domaine d'outre-mer, pour l'accessoire, l'acquisition de quelques cantons en Flandre" (p. 392).

The treatment of English policy and of Pitt is more likely to evoke criticism, and the prevailing opinion will probably be that both that statesman and his country have fared rather hardly at M. Waddington's hands. It is rather extreme to represent the minister's haughtiness and

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

lack of tact as largely if not mainly responsible for the trouble with Spain, and exception might also very reasonably be taken to the placing of Pitt and Choiseul on an equality in statesmanship. The failure to deal adequately with the conditions of English politics after the accession of George III. causes the narrative of the retirement of Pitt to give the impression that the crisis was due wholly to the latter's overweening self-confidence and arrogance; that this is really the author's opinion is perhaps indicated by his quotation without comment of Lord Granville's bitter attack on the Great Commoner in cabinet council. That the crisis was not due to Pitt's insistence on war with Spain will be made clear by a study of the cabinet history of the previous months, published some years ago in the *English Historical Review* (XVII. 678–691). That M. Waddington does not appreciate Pitt or his work is clearly shown by the remark (p. 617), "Il est peutêtre difficile pour un étranger d'expliquer et de justifier la renommée extraordinaire que Pitt acquit auprès de ses contemporains." This renown, however, he goes on to explain, somewhat lamely, as due mainly to the coincidence of Pitt's ministry "avec une période qui marqua les débuts et les progrès de la puissance et de la grandeur britannique", adding that it was aided by the degree in which Pitt "incarnait la personnalité de ses concitoyens du XVIII siècle". The language in which M. Waddington proceeds to describe the qualities of which Pitt was so admirable a representative is not quite in the spirit of the *entente cordiale*, and is perhaps also hardly in keeping with the usual courteous and objective tone of this narrative—a fact all the more surprising as M. Waddington has long been understood to be one of the Frenchmen who best knew and most admired the modern England. These qualities, according to him, are: "confiance inouïe en leur propre supériorité, mépris, souvent haineux, des nations voisines, fierté de race degénérant dans l'égoisme le plus pur et parfois le plus naïf, politique des résultats sans ombre de générosité et sans souci du sentiment". M. Waddington benevolently adds that "toutes ces caractéristiques essentiellement britanniques ne sont, après tout, que l'exagération des vertus correspondantes", as who should point out that the midnight burglar and assassin was after all only a little immoderate in his business enterprise and devotion to the interests of his family. Yet a little further on he is forced, we might say almost unconsciously, to bear witness to other reasons for Pitt's leadership and success. For when he discusses the change made by the alliance of Spain with France, he concedes that the English statesman's estimate of Spanish power was much more accurate than that which led Choiseul to fear lest the news of the Family Compact should frighten England into a pacific mood, and thus lead to her escape from the chastisement in preparation for her. And it need hardly be pointed out that this conception on the part of the man who is ranked with Pitt bears witness to as fatal a mistake in regard to England as in regard to Spain.

VICTOR COFFIN.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Paris sous Napoléon. In four volumes. Par L. de Lanzac de Laborie. I. *Consulat Provisoire et Consulat à Temps.* II. *Administration; Grands Travaux.* III. *La Cour et la Ville; La Vie et la Mort.* IV. *La Religion.* (Paris: Plon, Nourrit et Cie. 1905, 1906, 1907. Pp. vii, 377; ii, 382; ii, 386; iv, 394.)

THE author of these interesting volumes disclaims all political bias. He desires to write a chapter of Napoleonic history unsmirched by partizan passion and founded on a truly scientific basis. But he is positive that in performing such a task the author may hold convictions of a dogmatic nature in religion, and presumably in politics, both clear and strong. He reveals the true historic spirit in a demand upon his readers that they should judge the actors of the time according to the conditions of their lives and not by standards which have arisen "from the license of the press, the disappearance of any sense of authority, the habitual violence of our verbal display".

On the other hand he smiles at the juvenile admiration of his contemporaries for Lanfrey, regrets the animosity even of Taine, and ponders why Napoleon, that prodigious man, capable of enormous enterprises, nevertheless failed in founding a dynasty, or creating imitators. His history must be studied as a thing apart, for the vivid interest in what it means, and for its remote consequences, with no regard whatever for existing politics. For these purposes there are at the bar of the author two parties in evidence, in juxtaposition and in opposition: the First Consul and the City of Paris. Neither one loved the other, yet neither could dispense with the other. For the author's study, France, Europe, the world, are nonexistent. To reproduce in all exactness the physiognomy of Paris at the opening of the nineteenth century is his sole end and aim, so that the interchange of relationships between the parties may be understood.

To this end he has divided his task into four portions: the provisional consulate, the consulate for life and the empire, the religious and ecclesiastical establishment of Napoleon, and the *débâcle,* from the Russian campaign to the end. This last study has not yet been published. The commune of 1871 destroyed all the archives of the metropolitan prefectures, but there still remains an enormous mass of original material in the national archives, in the reports of the police as published by Aulard under the title of *Paris under the Consulate,* in the papers of Emery, deposited in the collections of St. Sulpice, and in the records of Notre Dame. There is also the overwhelming literature stored in the libraries: the National, the Municipal and that of the Institute. To all these due acknowledgment is made as well as to the general historians and their work. The foot-notes are bewildering in their number; useful no doubt to the still higher specialist but utterly valueless to the reader who can have no access to the originals and who finds in title, page and date no means of determining the use made of material; of course quota-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tions would be worthless, too, because an excerpt gives no idea of the whole, and bulky fine print is an annoyance as well as a useless expense. The moral of foot-notes adorns no tale. Either way their liberal use is mere exasperation; but our author represents the school that makes a display of apparatus and is embattled against that of Frederic Masson, which omits all foot-notes whatsoever and woos the reader by internal evidence. Yet he is not above quoting Thiers and Masson and Vandal and all the host of chroniclers, memorialists and pamphleteers who stand or fall on their personal character rather than substantiate their veracity by the exhibit of their tool-chest and laboratory.

M. de Lanzac de Laborie's successes have been recognized by the Academy and crowned with their highest literary prize. A perusal of his pages makes evident the reason. His erudition is rather oppressive and his style is not of the highest French standard. But his moderation, his judgment, his fairness, are everywhere in evidence. No class, no movement, no ebullition of temper, no doubtful morality, no fanaticism, radical or ecclesiastical, is stigmatized, held up to scorn, or used to blacken the motives of those concerned. On the contrary he has a dispassionate explanation of all that is apparently abnormal, he sees the underlying currents, marks the chains of causation, clarifies the evolutionary processes and eschews sensationalism of every kind. In short, he is calm and philosophical where others are didactic and dry like Aulard, or picturesque and theatrical like Stenger, or polemic as are Fauriel and nearly all the contemporaries.

The most original and enlightening portions of the book are those on the religious life of Paris during the period. The tenth chapter of the first volume in particular gives a better account than can be found elsewhere of the revival of religious feeling during the provisional consulate. The decline of that curious semi-official cult Theophilanthropy, the general neglect of the tenth-day official festival, the restoration of Christian services and the observance of the First Day, the reappearance of the Constitutional Church, the new attitude of the Roman Catholic Church and its official re-establishment in spite of ill-will on the part of the authorities; all these details are lucidly and fully given. The entire fourth volume entitled *Religion* was hurried through the press in order to meet the demand for information as to the origin and negotiation of the Concordat during the recent agitations incident to its abolition and the complete separation of church and state. There are however no marks of haste in the book. On the contrary the volume is singularly free from vague generalizations and is marked by careful portraiture of the great ecclesiastical personages, Belloy, Fesch, Emery, Maury and Astros. Indeed it is almost a series of biographies and characterizations that illuminate the process by which the Church of Rome, saved as by fire in the Concordat, regained its prestige and influence despite the impatience and tyranny of Napoleon.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Indeed these volumes are characterized by the quality now observable in much of the contemporary French literature, especially in the novels of René Bazin. If the true Frenchman is to regain his birthright, the thirty millions to be no longer governed by the one or two which comprise radicals, Israelites and Protestants, as has been the case since the foundation of the Third Republic, they must accept accomplished facts. The emancipated Church of Rome must be French and patriotic, moderate and considerate, modern as the Continental phrase runs, forgetting its bitterness, ceasing to pose as a victim of martyrdom, relegating the past to oblivion, granting to the masses the religious morality essential to secular morality; and, minister, not be ministered unto. In this service the historian must not emphasize or exaggerate the sorrows and rebuffs of well-meaning fanaticism or of ultramontanism, but set forth the constructive processes, the repentance of medievalism under chastisement, and the new life which results from the never-ending struggle of the present with the past. This policy marks these volumes one and all. If the reader desires a portrayal of the baseness of men, their wallowings in vice and spite, their enervated luxury and pagan self-indulgence, he must go elsewhere to find it. The theatrical, vaudeville, even dramatic aspects of the Consulate are rarely indicated. The renewed protoplasm and life-force of the capital and the nation are most in evidence.

This quality appears notably in the treatment of a very knotty question, the clandestine efforts to re-establish monastic institutions, even of lay fraternities, in Paris and in France. Intimately connected with this was the persistent reassembling of nuns and sisters, the educational work of the Christian Brothers and the whole subject of home and foreign missions. The ramifications of these interests into every social rank, as religious life and practice gained strength and intensiveness, are traced with delicacy and truthfulness by the author. No one can be offended by his treatment of a process out of which the ecclesiastical situation during the last years of the last century has grown. In particular there is a refreshing frankness as to the responsibilities of persons. Writers of scientific history are strangely impersonal in these days. The flow of events is traced so dispassionately that somehow an impression of necessitarian hopelessness is left on the minds of readers. Things happened because they must; men behave in any way whatsoever as the puppets of fate; it is too bad, the terrible consequences! but nobody is really to blame. M. de Lanzac de Laborie has other ideas and, as he sees the sequence of things, matters turned out as they did because the controlling minds were free agents; the praise or blame is theirs and they are responsible. It is very refreshing to read his truthful characterizations of Bernier, Consalvi, Spina and all the ecclesiastical negotiators of the Concordat: his sketching of the prelates under whom the church renewed its vigor. Scant justice however is done to the leaders of the Constitutionals and to the Protestants who are held up to a certain contempt, especially Marron, Le Coz and Grégoire. The

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

pliancy of churchmen and dissenters, of freemasons, Israelites and radicals in the hands of the First Consul, well delineated in these pages, puts everybody concerned more or less in the light of puppets and opens the way for sarcasm. But there are periods when the "pliables" comprehend most of those desiring to restore order and give coherency to organic life in church and state, without which both perish and chaos ensues.

The other volumes are antiquarian rather than historical; the rebuilding and reconstruction of the city interests the author profoundly and he is rather prolix on the subject. Its economic regeneration is also a matter of intense interest and the thousand small but important articles which in their manufacture once more employed great masses of the populace are made the subject of considerable eloquence. The habits of each social class, their homes and their festivals; their clothing, scant and diaphanous in the case of the upper-class women; their luxury and their extravagance, their loose morality, their scandalous tongues, the monstrous proportions of illegitimate births—there is little that escapes notice though the facts are merely enumerated, not elaborated. On the other hand the persistent virtue of the elect few is steadily presented to the reader, and care is taken to emphasize the structural strength of society in all its normal functions. The exemplary home life of the many in every class is not forgotten. The final impression after perusal of the book is of a people buffeted by reversals of belief, of institutions, of government; by foreign wars and intestine revolutions; all due to a survival of the old order far beyond its time. Yet it is nevertheless a people keeping a firm anchorage in essentials, quick to resume evolutionary processes, and sloughing off exaggerated folly with little permanent damage to the nation and community as a whole. This book must be reckoned as one of the most important recent contributions to the life of a new France. It will reach many Frenchmen who have been loath to believe that history is in the making day by day, that the old must pass and be forgotten, that the nation must shed its outgrown garments, that all this is imperative if France is to preserve her identity. Elsewhere it has dawned on the present generation that democracy means active participation in politics of every citizen or subject, that otherwise an oligarchy must emerge. Here in America we have still the pernicious obligarchies of local and party politics; in France the government entire is carried on by a minority. For both conditions there is the same cause; the majority wants all or nothing, the best or the worst. Such citizenship results in the final elimination from efficient life of those who practice it. M. de Lanzac de Laborie presents a picture of how easy it is to discover and exaggerate vice, how hard to find virtue and appreciate it; he shows the indefatigable man at work on the ruins of an antiquated state, using other men as he found them, improving conditions by accepting and modifying them, and delineates the solid, homely, industrious population of Paris both holding its own and

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

restoring the good that seemed lost because Napoleon knew the value of cities to a country, of a metropolis as the heart-centre of a nation and made short work with irreconcilables—Jacobin or Ultramontane.

A History of the Peninsular War. By CHARLES OMAN, M.A. Volume III. *September, 1809–December, 1810. Ocaña, Cadiz, Bussaco, Torres Vedras.* (Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1908. Pp. xii, 568.)

ANOTHER sumptuous volume of Professor Oman's *Peninsular War* lies before us, manufactured with all the care and skill of the Clarendon Press, the 568 pages covering the period from September, 1809, to December, 1810—what the author considers "the turning point of the war". Oman is fortunate in having no metre and bounds set to his work, for it enables him, while not losing sight (as so far he certainly has not) of such perspective as there is in this disjointed and long-drawn-out struggle between Wellington and Napoleon's marshals, to enrich his chapters with personal references, acts of individual skill or gallantry, and other facts dear to his especial *clientèle,* which make the work more readable than one which has to be confined to more or less technical details; for when will that fighting animal, man, ever cease to gloat over deeds of heroism or fields of glory? Moreover, he is fortunate in having been over the ground himself, and in having studied much of the topography carefully. His description of the battle of Bussaco, as a result, is the clearest that exists. The most interesting part of the book is that devoted to Masséna's failure in this campaign, and the author is just to this able marshal, who began his military life by triumph and ended it in disaster. But then, so did Hannibal, greatest of all soldiers.

Oman's space likewise enables him to indulge in character sketching, and one gets a novel idea of what manner of men they were who struggled through these long years. The professor is quite frank in such portraiture. Craufurd (he of the wonderful forty-three mile march in twenty-two hours to just miss Talavera) is a disappointed man, "on the lookout for slights and quarrels", due to his lack of promotion, although one of the best equipped men in the army, and "on one of his happy days . . . the most brilliant subordinate Wellington ever owned". Masséna "was a detestable character—but he was a great general; of all the marshals of the Empire he was undoubtedly the most capable"—in which latter opinion one might perhaps disagree with him. The bombardment of the citadel of Lérida, filled with noncombatants, "places that polished writer and able administrator Louis-Gabriel Suchet on the moral level of a king of Dahomey".

The lines of Torres Vedras are well described—one conceives a clear idea of the gigantic nature of the work; and the devastation of so great a part of Portugal to neutralize Masséna's advance, Oman shows to

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

have been not only justifiable, but authorized by the Portuguese authorities, and "an old custom essentially national and familiar to the Portuguese from time immemorial". Many of the customs and precedents of war are horrible; only in this generation are we getting humanized out of some of the worst of them; but after all the devastation of a province is no worse than a battle like the Moskwa, or Waterloo, or Gettysburg, and entails less actual loss of life or suffering, although these are apt to fall on noncombatants.

The great work of Napier can never be crowded from the shelf of classics; neither does Oman pretend to supplant him; but, from sources Napier did not have, he is enabled to correct some errors in his predecessor's volumes. Thus, in one paragraph in Napier's account of Bussaco he finds that "almost every statement here is incorrect", and gives at length seven valid reasons for his statement.

The operations in other sections of Spain during these months are allotted full space, yet the interest of the volume centres about Masséna's campaign.

Professor Oman always seeks the original sources, and he acknowledges his indebtedness to a number of those who have furnished him with documents or who have obtained data for him from the French and Spanish archives when he himself had not had time for further research. His having visited much of the ground is an unequalled aid in describing operations, and he writes with a positiveness bred of conviction. His chapters, with excellent maps, are much easier reading than even the most brilliant of Napier's.

From the days of Fabius Cunctator—if we leave out the Middle Age generals who believed battle injudicious, but who manoeuvred with abundant skill, and, a manoeuvre ended, sat down to smile at it and see what reply the enemy would make—no better sample of patient campaigning exists than the Peninsular War. All that England cared at first to accomplish was to chase and keep the French out of Portugal; to this, until much later, was the task of Wellington confined, and he executed it well. Only when Napoleon had been shaken from his strong European position by the events of 1812 and 1813 did England pretend to wage a war of invasion. She had all along done her full share with her fleets and her treasury. Yet it will always be a source of wonder—one can scarcely even speculate upon it—what Wellington would have accomplished had England several years earlier agreed to drive the French from Spain and carry the war into France.

Each succeeding volume of this important work will be welcomed with interest.

THEODORE AYRAULT DODGE.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Giuseppe Garibaldi e la sua Legione nello Stato Romano, 1848–1849. Per ERMANNO LOEVINSON. (Roma-Milano: Società Editrice Dante Alighieri di Albrighi, Segati e Co. 1902–1907. Pp. 11, 278; 6, 274; 12, 372.)

THIS is one of the most scholarly of the many important monographs in the collection *Biblioteca Storica del Risorgimento Italiano,* edited by T. Casini and V. Fiorini. Part I. was published as volumes IV.–V. of series 3 of the collection; part II. as volume VI. of series 4; and part III., which was timed to appear among the numerous works which heralded the centenary of Garibaldi's birth, as volume II. of series 5.

Garibaldi landed in Nice at the close of his South American Odyssey in June, 1848. He hastened to participate in the Lombard campaign, but with a commission under the Provisional Government of Milan arrived only in time to make the brief campaign of a forlorn hope for two or three weeks about Lake Maggiore and Varese. Determined to strike further blows in behalf of Italian independence he set sail with some seventy companions for Sicily. Touching at Leghorn he was persuaded to land in the hope of placing himself at the head of Tuscan liberal forces. Rejected in Tuscany he passed over to Bologna, and by recruiting considerably augmented the number of his followers. The papal authorities expected him to go over to Venice and join in its gallant defense against Austria, but the murder of Pellegrino Rossi precipitated revolution in the Papal States, and Garibaldi, with his rapidly growing "legion" saw in the defense of Rome the most efficient service to be rendered the Italian cause.

Loevinson's three volumes form a carefully prepared monograph upon the formation and conduct of this strange body of volunteers, made up of men of all stations in life and of all moral shades, but drawn principally from the commercial and artisan classes, with a small contingent of released convicts. The number of the legion rose from seventy to about thirteen hundred men, and heterogeneous as were its elements, and raw in great part, it won golden laurels under its great chief in the defense of Rome, the history of which is in considerable part the history of the legion. The account begins in November, 1848, gives special prominence to the wanderings of the legion in the Romagne, the Marche and Umbria, and comes down through the defense of Rome, with the battles of Palestrina and Velletri, to the surrender of Rome and the departure of the legion on its famous retreat, July 2, 1849. It is based largely upon unpublished material, upon the records of the legion itself and other documents of the war office of the period; upon police records and documents of varied character in the Archives of State in Rome, and in numerous other archives and libraries, including those of more than forty municipalities. It is a work of patient research and minute study which has occupied several years and has been done with a thoroughness which secures it a place as a permanent authority. The first volume is a

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

general account; the second is made up of special studies upon enrollment, equipment, discipline, etc.; the third consists of nearly one hundred and forty letters of Garibaldi, many of them unpublished, and one hundred and seventy-one documents, with a bibliography and a subject-index of the names of persons and places mentioned in the whole work. Although written with considerable impartiality, it might have given more attention to papal authorities, several of which are wanting in the otherwise comparatively complete bibliography. The general reader might wish that more consideration could have been given to political and diplomatic conditions, but the work professes to be only a regimental history, and within the restricted limits of such a work it should be judged. It is indispensable to the biographer of Garibaldi, as well as to the historian of the period, who must await the publication of many such works of patient scholarship and minute research before any definitive history of the Risorgimento or of any of its many phases can be written. G.

Garibaldi's Defence of the Roman Republic. By GEORGE MACAULAY TREVELYAN. (London and New York: Longmans, Green and Company. 1907. Pp. xv, 377; second edition, pp. xv, 387.)

THIS volume marks the entry of a new foreign historian in the field of the Italian Risorgimento, a period much neglected, or, what is worse, generally unworthily treated, outside Italy. In English the Risorgimento works of W. R. Thayer and of Countess Martinengo Cesaresco are at once sympathetic and scholarly; those of King are painstaking and useful, though hastily compiled and colorless; Whitehouse's volumes are able and generally trustworthy; Probyn's history was timely in its day; other original Risorgimento works published in English during the last fifty years may best be passed over in silence. No student would think of undertaking such works as a pretentious history of the German Reformation or a life of Frederick the Great without some years of serious study and preparation. But so low is foreign scholarship of the Risorgimento, so casual is foreign interest in modern Italy, and so limited is foreign knowledge of the Italian language, that more than one aspirant to easy historical honors, after a year or two of desultory reading, with inadequate knowledge of Italian, and no knowledge of even the titles of innumerable primary sources, has ventured to publish bulky volumes upon the characters and events of the complicated and significant half-century of moral and material conflict which gave to Italy unity and independence.

Trevelyan's historical publications have hitherto related to the age of Wycliffe and the peasants' rising, and to Stuart England, and he too has entered the Risorgimento field with comparatively little preparation. But he has entered it with much earnestness, with more than the average historical activity and power of work, and what is more, he has

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

been wise enough to recognize the insufficiency of his own unaided Italian studies, and to place himself under the wings of several able Italians who have made thorough researches on the period, Loevinson, whose *Giuseppe Garibaldi e la sua Legione* he has followed with a deference due to infallibility, Menghini, the scholarly Mazzinian specialist, Captain Paganelli of the war office, and others. Furthermore Trevelyan has taken the trouble to visit the scenes of the events which he describes, he has interviewed many Risorgimento contemporaries and recorded their impressions, and he has made a critical and at some points a minute study of many, though by no means all, published primary sources.

The volume does not profess to be a well-rounded history of the Roman Republic of 1849. Its title declares it to be a military account giving special prominence to the figure of Garibaldi who was the soul of the defense. The first hundred pages—a third of the volume—relate to Garibaldi's early life and to conditions in Italy and Rome prior to the proclamation of the Republic, and they constitute the less interesting and less scholarly part of the work. The author lavishes much space upon the enrollment, character and appearance of the conglomerate corps engaged in the defense of the Republic, but he gives only a brief and quite inadequate description of the body politic which was being defended. His pictures of military action are striking and his heroes of the Republic are carefully drawn, but the reader obtains at best a vague and incomplete impression of the character and rule of the Republic itself. A third only of the volume relates to the actual defense referred to in the title. The last hundred pages are devoted to Garibaldi's so-called retreat, July 2–September 2, which followed the surrender of Rome. The retreat is a striking exploit, interesting principally for the biography of Garibaldi; it so interested the author that he went over the whole route on foot, thus obtaining good local color for his topographical descriptions. This is the part of the work most minutely studied.

Trevelyan's point of view is that of unbounded enthusiasm for the Risorgimento movement and of lively admiration for his hero Garibaldi. His enthusiasm prevents him from doing full justice to the papal government and its claims, and several of his statements and expressions (pp. 57, 87), as when he speaks of "the Neapolitan gang"—evidently composed mostly of cardinals and monsignori—that now surrounded the pope, make it clear that he is writing for a distinctly Protestant or anticlerical public. His authorities quoted in non-military matters are almost exclusively anticlerical; furthermore he has erred in parts in following too closely one or two untrustworthy secondary sources; Johnston's *The Roman Theocracy* has led him into more than one error. For example, Bowring, entrusted with an English government mission of investigation in the Papal States, reported in 1837 that but 2 per cent. of the population was to be found in the schools. Johnston (p. 13), quoting Bowring, says that but 2 per cent. of the rural districts received any education whatever. Trevelyan (p. 55), quoting from Johnston, says that but

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

2 per cent. of the rural population could read. But if, as Bowring said, 2 per cent. of the population was to be found in the schools, at least 8 per cent. more of the population had passed through the schools, and say 10 per cent. could probably read.

Trevelyan's enthusiasm has led him into some extravagances and inconsistencies, as when he declares (pp. 92, 97) that the sordid period of the democratic revolution was over (February), and that Mazzini's "saintliness cast its spell over the Roman people" (March), although a few pages farther on he is obliged to record many unpublished murders of unoffending priests and the sacking of religious and public institutions. He generally cites in foot-notes the sources of his information, but the rapidity of his work has not enabled him generally to mass and sift the evidence with the care necessary to give his statements the stamp of finality. As a whole, however, the volume gives an excellent picture of the period, and is calculated to arouse interest in a wide-reading public. Trevelyan has an eye for picturesque detail which gives much freshness to the narrative; many of his appreciations are peculiarly happy and some of his pages are eloquent. His keen sympathy with the liberal movement has enabled him to penetrate well beneath its surface, and the character of Garibaldi has been well interpreted.

A good bibliography is appended, to which, however, many additions might be made, including several important primary sources. The second edition contains a few, mostly insignificant, changes and additions, exclusively relating to Garibaldi's retreat; and a few titles have been inserted in the bibliography.

H. Nelson Gay.

The History of Twenty-five Years, 1856–1880. By Sir Spencer Walpole, K.C.B. Volume III., 1870–1875; Volume IV., 1876–1880. (London and New York: Longmans, Green and Company. 1908. Pp. xv, 331; xii, 410.)

When he died a year ago Sir Spencer Walpole left the manuscript of the concluding volumes of his history in such shape that it could be edited for publication. This has been done by his friend Sir Alfred Lyall, a competent hand, who states that the work as it stands comprises Walpole's material, rearranged where necessary, owing to the lack of two chapters which he intended to write. Walpole's method of historical construction and his general point of view are familiar to students of recent British history. He treats his subject topically, so that his chapters are really monographs. Analysis rather than narrative is his forte. He has so wide a range of interest that he takes not merely politics proper for his province, but industrial and sociological conditions, religion and literature. And he has, for an Englishman, a remarkable acquaintance with the contemporary history of the European continent.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The great topics of these volumes are the Treaty of London, the Eastern Question (1856–1876), the Russo-Turkish War and the Berlin Treaty, ritual and religion, and the beginning of the Home Rule struggle. In addition, there is a careful description of the main features of routine politics during the Gladstone and Disraeli ministries. Walpole draws few pen-portraits of his *dramatis personae,* although his volume of biographical essays proved that he was a close observer of character, and estimated at its proper value the influence of dominant personalities in determining events.

His chapter on the negotiations between England and the United States, which resulted in the Geneva award, embraces also a survey of British foreign policy at the fall of the French Empire and the denunciation by Russia of the Treaty of Paris. His treatment is eminently fair. He describes without bias the exaggerated demands of Sumner and the American fire-eaters and the mistakes of Lord Granville. With equal candor, but with perfect respect, he states how unpopular the queen had become through her persistent withdrawal from royal functions, and how much the sympathy aroused by Albert Edward's illness reacted in favor of the dynasty. In the early seventies, Radicals used to predict that Victoria would be the last sovereign of Great Britain. In 1908 John Morley, one of those Radicals, is a viscount, and Joseph Chamberlain, another Radical, was only a little while ago the drive-wheel of a reactionary, Tory administration. The throne seems more firmly established than ever.

The beginnings of the drift toward imperialism appear in the account of Disraeli's transactions in Egypt, of the crowning of Queen Victoria as Empress of India, and of the theatrical exploits of Beaconsfield at Berlin. While Walpole gives throughout a fair statement of party policies, he does not refrain from exercising the historian's right to pass judgment after the evidence is all in. His verdicts are generally those of the enlightened Liberal of the generation which grew up in the third quarter of the nineteenth century.

The two most important monographs in this part of his work cover the Eastern Question from the end of the Crimean War to the Treaty of Berlin, and the ecclesiastical difficulties which perturbed the Church of England between 1850 and 1880. In the former Walpole's criticism of policies which the Tories themselves now regard as mistaken, is particularly pungent. The incompetence of the British Foreign Office to deal with Orientals has been recently confirmed by Lord Cromer in his remarkable account of Modern Egypt. That the Foreign Office, which trusted in the fifties so hot-headed and obstinate a guide as Stratford Canning, should have been equally misled in the sixties and seventies, cannot surprise us. It was only natural that Beaconsfield should treat the Ottoman Empire in the magician-like way in which the heroes of his romances dispensed fortunes and kingdoms. Walpole, however, prefers to throw his searchlight on the buncombe and tinsel. Beaconsfield

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"might have ascertained from the teachings of history", he says, "that he could not possibly divorce the Bulgaria of the north from the Bulgaria of the south by the childish device of giving it a new name. He might have learned from the lessons of geography that the occupation of Cyprus could not control the caravan road between Trebizond and Tabriz" (IV. 186). Beaconsfield's apologists would probably retort that he succeeded in preventing Russia from occupying Constantinople, and in riveting England's hold on the Suez Canal—the two objects which the British then regarded, and probably still regard, as indispensable to the furtherance of British interests. But however readers may differ from Walpole's opinions, they can hardly impugn the accuracy of his statements.

The most unusual chapter of all is that which discusses ritual and religion. The internecine quarrels of the various parties of the Church of England, their appeals from church to Parliament, and the desperate efforts to maintain at least a semblance of orthodoxy, are here described with sober fairness. Possibly, had Walpole lived, he might have added a page or two of résumé, so that we might see at a glance where this struggle left the Established Church. Walpole's own views can be inferred in his brief survey of the diffusion of the evolution theory and of agnosticism. Incidentally he pays tribute to Tennyson as the representative poet of the age.

There are other noteworthy sections—on the early Home Rule movement, on the state telegraphs, on Plimsoll's efforts to protect seamen, for instance—which deserve special mention. In a review like the present, however, it is necessary to define, if possible, the main characteristics. Walpole's work deserves to become the standard for readers who are not pursuing minute investigation of details. Several of his short monographs are the best in English on their several subjects. He writes from a full store of information, in a judicial temper, and with the conviction, which happily still survives in England, that history is written to be read.

WILLIAM ROSCOE THAYER.

The Rise and Decline of the Free Trade Movement. By W. CUNNINGHAM, D.D., F.B.A., Honorable Fellow of Gonville and Caius College. (Cambridge: University Press. 1905. Pp. x, 212.)

IN this second edition of his work on the free trade movement, Professor Cunningham has made only unimportant changes, barring the addition to it of two addresses, already separately published, one on *The Real Richard Cobden,* and one entitled *Back to Adam Smith.* The book is really a political tract but not for that reason less worthy the attention of the historian. The use of the historical argument in modern political and economic discussion has become increasingly important

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

and nowhere has its significance been greater than in the field of commercial policy. The most influential protectionist work of the nineteenth century was List's *National System,* and the most striking characteristic of that work was the use of the historical method. This does not mean simply an attempt to prove the economic benefits or evils of particular tariff measures by a study of industrial statistics but rather the broader attempt to interpret tariff questions in the light of great political and social changes, including not only changes in economic conditions but also changes in national ambitions and ideals. Of peculiar interest is the fact that in the great tariff discussion which has agitated England since Chamberlain threw down his challenge in May, 1903, the economists have very largely divided according to their devotion to the theoretical or the historical method. The great theoretical writers, such as Marshall at Cambridge and Edgeworth at Oxford, have remained true to the orthodox free trade teaching, while the economic historians, especially Cunningham, Ashley and Hewins have become champions of the Chamberlain programme. This is doubtless primarily due to the fact that the historians have approached modern economic problems in the light of the whole course of national political growth. Protectionism in England is but one phase of imperialism and both of them are primarily political rather than economic in their character.

We are prepared, then, to find Dr. Cunningham saying in his preface: "It hardly seems possible that anyone, who has been influenced by the political ideas of Sir John Seeley and is true to the economic teaching of Adam Smith should hesitate. I hope to march with the men who have wisdom to reconsider a decision, honesty to acknowledge a blunder, and courage to try to retrieve it." This does not mean that the author looks on the free trade movement as a "blunder" in its inception. He traces briefly but sympathetically the efforts of Pitt, Huskisson and Peel, and the period of the commercial treaties after 1860. The blunder, according to his views, lay in the exaggerated views of the free traders and the holding to their doctrine as a dogma of absolute truth, after all the changes that have taken place. Despite the advantages which came to England from a generation of "one-sided free-trade", she was coming to the period of "the great divide" in which the growth of rival industrial nations and the decay of her own resources have brought her face to face with the problem of maintaining her prestige among the nations. This problem, the author believes, is not to be solved by the continuance of a policy of unlimited "cosmopolitan competition", but by a new "imperial system" of co-operation and interdependence among all parts of the empire.

So far as either his historical account of the movement or his analysis of the present situation is concerned, Dr. Cunningham gives us little that is new. It is not so much a history as an interpretation of familiar events, which derives its importance from the nature of the modern

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

problem and the authority of the interpreter. Naturally the reader's opinion will be largely determined by his own attitude toward the problem itself. He, no more than the author, can escape the personal basis of judgment. Even the orthodox free trader, however, will recognize that this tract is written in a more moderate vein and with a greater effort at fairness than is much of the literature of the controversy. The author feels the wrench of breaking with the great names of the past, and with characteristic English conservatism he tries to show that the really great leaders were not extremists and had many points of contact with the modern notions. This is especially marked in his two new chapters on Adam Smith and Cobden. In the case of the latter, at least, the effort seems rather far-fetched. To Mongredien, the Cobden Club historian, Cobden was a moral hero endowed with economic infallibility. To a writer like Fuchs he was a shrewd manufacturer with a keen eye to the profits of the cotton trade. Doubtless "the real Richard Cobden" was neither of these and yet it seems futile to try and save him as an object of sympathy for the modern imperialists. Underneath any divergence of economic theorizing between them lies the deeper and ineradicable difference of divergent ideals as to the mission and destiny of England and her colonies.

HENRY C. EMERY.

The Government of England. By A. LAWRENCE LOWELL, Professor of the Science of Government in Harvard University. In two volumes. (New York: The Macmillan Company. 1908. Pp. xv, 570; viii, 563.)

MR. LOWELL has admirably succeeded in a task which no other student of political science—English or American—has attempted. Even to enumerate all the departments of government activity that are comprehended in his *Government of England* would absorb at least half of the space assigned for this review. Six full pages of the first volume are occupied with the table of contents—the headings to the sixty-seven chapters into which the two volumes are divided. Here it must suffice to state that Mr. Lowell begins at the top and works downward. He begins with the crown; then proceeds to deal with Parliament, the cabinet and the state departments, and with the relations of the colonies to the mother-country. Then having described the governmental and ecclesiastical machinery, the law courts and the political activities of which Whitehall and Westminster are the centres, he takes leave of official London and devotes himself to municipal government in its several aspects in the local government areas of the metropolis and of provincial England.

Even this brief outline of Mr. Lowell's great work will afford a basis for the statement at the outset that he has succeeded in a task which no other student of the English governmental system has at-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tempted. There are not lacking books of recent date which treat of subdivisions of the subject. Many of these are special studies and are accepted as authoritative; but heretofore there has existed no one book covering comprehensively the whole subject, although the need for such a work as this with its inclusiveness and its scholarly accuracy had long been obvious. Such a work could have been undertaken at any time after 1888; for with the enactment of the County Government Act in that year there remained only the District and Parish Councils Act of 1893 and the Act of 1899, which replaced the London vestries by municipal councils, to complete the era of constitutional reform which began in 1832. Many of the special studies of English government which are now of permanent value have been written since 1893; but Mr. Lowell is the only student who has realized the need of a work covering the entire field of governmental and party activity and who has devoted himself with success to meeting this need.

It was the fortune of the present reviewer to spend sixteen or seventeen years in daily contact with the governmental machinery which Mr. Lowell has described. This experience began with local government as it existed in the later seventies, and was followed by an experience of the working of Parliament and the state departments in London during the period when the last of the great reforms in local government were in making. In those years he learned to admire these institutions from the ease with which they work, and their adaptability to changing political, economic and social conditions. Much time in later years has been spent by him in working out the history of several of these institutions; and a study of Mr. Lowell's two volumes has filled him with whole-hearted and thorough-going appreciation. It is because this review must be, in the main, if the reviewer follows his sense of the exceeding merit and value of Mr. Lowell's work, an appreciation of an ambitious task well performed, that he prefaces it with the little criticism which he finds occasion to offer.

Mr. Lowell is uniformly accurate in statements of fact and description. Errors of fact are singularly few, as might be expected from the care that has been bestowed on the work, and from the fact that the proof-sheets were read by the Right Honorable James Bryce. Of what misstatements there are, none is vital, and the same may be said of some observations and conclusions to which exception might perhaps be taken. All told the few misstatements do not detract from the value of the book as a work of reference to anything like the same degree as the unfortunate fact for Mr. Lowell that developments so quickly succeeded each other in the labor movement both in Parliament and the constituencies after it was no longer practicable to bring the chapters on this significant phase of English politics down at least to the incoming of the Asquith administration in April, 1908.

This is a misfortune likely to happen at any time in connection with a work of this character. It can be made good when Mr. Lowell pre-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

pares his second edition. At such a revision also it might be well to correct the statement (I. 170) that until 1896 provincial postmasters owed their positions to political influence. Rural postmasters were nominated by members of the House of Commons until about twelve years ago; but provincial England means areas outside London, and it is much more than twelve years since postmasters in such cities as Liverpool, Manchester or Birmingham were nominated by members of Parliament. Another statement requiring correction is (II. 176) that municipal officers, except the town clerk, do not ordinarily attend the meetings of the town councils. The reviewer's experience is that municipal officers are very generally in attendance; and there are good grounds for such attendance, as at any time the recommendations of a committee may be challenged, and information at the command of the committee's expert may be essential to save the reference of minutes back to the committee.

Here and there one might ask for a line or two of amplification. It would have been well if Mr. Lowell had quoted some authorities for his statement that the calibre of men now offering for service on city councils is deteriorating. Again in summing up the case for and against municipal ownership it would have been helpful if Mr. Lowell had taken note of the ease of working in municipal economy which results from municipal ownership and operation of gas, electric lighting and street-car undertakings, an ease which is often patently lacking in this country where these undertakings are in the hands of private companies whose interests are not and never can be identical with those of a well-administered municipality.

Turning to quite another section of Mr. Lowell's book, it would have been fairer to Free Churchmen in England if Mr. Lowell had made it clear in his analysis of the political controversy over the elementary schools that the aim of the partizans of the Established Church is to retain a large proportion of what are really civil-service appointments—head-teacherships in the schools—as an exclusive possession of the Church of England.

It is not possible to make any comparison between Mr. Lowell's book and the half-dozen other books the joint use of which might be made to take its place. It stands in distinguished isolation by reason of its comprehensive plan, the masterly way in which the plan has been developed, and the sympathetic insight with which Mr. Lowell has described and analyzed the spirit in which English people work their Parliamentary and municipal institutions. The index—twenty-two pages—is full and likely to meet all calls upon it. There is no bibliography, but the authorities which Mr. Lowell has used are fully set out in the foot-notes.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

BOOKS OF AMERICAN HISTORY

The Struggle for American Independence. In two volumes. By SYDNEY GEORGE FISHER. (Philadelphia and London: J. B. Lippincott and Company. 1908. Pp. xxii, 574; vii, 585.)

THIS is a larger and more detailed work on the period of American history from 1763 to 1783 by the author of *The True History of the American Revolution.* Like *The True History* it serves as a corrective to the orthodox and usually accepted ideas concerning the issues and merits of the Revolution. Americans have been taught to believe that their fathers in the Revolution stood for their constitutional rights as Englishmen; for local self-government; for right of trial by jury; for self-taxation, vouchsafed from English experience; against the quartering upon them of armies "to eat out their substance" without the consent of their representative assemblies; and for the principles of liberty and self-government proclaimed by the Declaration of Independence; while Great Britain was resolved to govern the colonies by arbitrary power, and to subject them to injurious laws and to principles of taxation contrary to the old English conception of English liberty.

These ideas have been deeply imbedded in the American mind. They are regarded as the verdict of history and as the final interpretation of the vital issues raised by the American struggle for independence. It is not likely that Mr. Fisher's volumes will do much to disturb this verdict. They may, however, be of distinct aid to some teachers of American history and to some half-informed "Sons" and "Daughters" of the American Revolution who have been led to suppose there was only one side to the Revolution, and that there was nothing but liberty, glory and unselfish patriotism on the American side of the struggle of 1776. Such readers may follow with profit, if not with approval, through Mr. Fisher's pages, wherein the author seeks to put the traditional and patriotic causes of the American Revolution in what he regards as their true light, namely, as minor and incidental to the real and original issue of the struggle.

That struggle arose, according to Mr. Fisher, because of an effort of the British to establish a modern colonial system by so reorganizing their American colonies as to assert and make real the nominal sovereignty recognized as belonging to Parliament by the departure of the French from America. This reorganization of her colonies was necessary if England was to retain her control; and it was a policy begun, not after a careless and ignorant fashion by a corrupt government, or a stupid king, but after deliberation and investigation by capable statesmen who were asserting principles on which alone colonies could be retained and governed. On the part of the Americans independence was the object in view from the opening hour of the quarrel, or even before open friction began, prepared for by political ideas and material interests that had long made independence inevitable. This view Mr. Fisher maintains

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

in two volumes of clearness and force and with an interesting array of evidence. He has gone to the original sources for information; his citations and references are numerous and valuable; the arrangement of his material is good, and his style is readable and attractive.

Yet however creditable his work, it must be confessed that the author seems excessively "otherwise-minded", and his spirit of criticism and correction seem, in a measure, to outrun his spirit of historical impartiality and fairness. He makes most use of what makes most of his cause. For the years of discussion preceding the call to arms Mr. Fisher's readers would be led to conclude that in all the long controversy the Americans had no cause. They were without good ground for contention, short of independence. Any claims of principles or purposes short of that are evasions, concealments, or false pretenses. Monopoly of colonial trade was "an essential part of the colonial system"—though Adam Smith was soon to disprove the theory. "No taxation without representation" was "never a part of the British constitution"—though Chatham apparently thought otherwise. There was "no ground for the American claim against the Stamp Act"—though that claim received the assent of some of the best men in England. Parliament had the right to rule, as it had long ruled, the colonies without their consent, as every true English colony is ruled to-day. The American distinction between internal and external taxes was "weak and absurd"—though Franklin gave his testimony to sustain it. Dickinson's idea (which seems, also, to have been that of Burke) that a duty on commerce could be kept from becoming a tax was a "flimsy one"; while Samuel Adams's doctrine on the need of colonial consent to standing armies was equivalent to a declaration of independence. American mobs and tar-and-feather parties made the army necessary; while even the revival of the notorious act of Henry VIII.'s time providing for the transportation for trial of colonists charged with treason was well founded in precedents and in the right of a nation to establish order in its colonies. It was not any want of conciliation that lost Great Britain her American colonies. "She lost her colonies because she wanted colonies and the colonies wanted independence." "No amount of graciousness, friendliness, or kindness could make the colonial condition acceptable to the patriots of 1770"—the testimony of the patriot leaders Washington, Adams, Franklin, Jefferson and others being rejected as unconvincing or unimportant. The conditions in the patriot army were "very different from what most of us have been led to believe". The "beautiful buff and blue uniforms" were only on the fashion plates, not on the backs of the patriots. The patriot troops were merely a set of volunteer riflemen, without uniforms, in ragged clothes and butternut hunting shirts, at times barefooted, at times "destitute of both shirts and breeches", and at all times without much sense of order or discipline. They could shoot straight, but no one could tell how soon they would desert to the enemy or go trooping home. High-toned respectable so-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ciety was disgusted with such a levelling soldiery. It was not they who won our independence. It was the aid of France, or the political complications in Europe, or the Whig partizanship, or incompetency, of English generals who were willing to have the American rebellion succeed.

These suggestions will serve to indicate the tone and temper of the work. In their scope the volumes embrace all the subjects worthy of notice within the period described, including the foreign relations and the military and personal aspects of the war, while the second volume closes with a suggestive chapter on the Effect of the Revolution on England's Colonial System. The volumes bear the stamp of originality—they lead a departure from beaten paths. There is much of interesting detail and the author shows a wealth of knowledge as well as an acquaintance with scholarly and scientific methods. Grounds for the author's conclusions are given, but the reader will hardly escape the feeling that in his treatment of the controverted political questions of the period the author has been a one-sided rather than an all-around impartial historian. Yet one wishing to know the whole story of the Revolution must feel grateful to Mr. Fisher for his volumes.

JAMES A. WOODBURN.

The Life and Correspondence of James McHenry, Secretary of War under Washington and Adams. By BERNARD C. STEINER. (Cleveland: The Burrows Brothers Company. 1907. Pp. x, 640.)

Now that the lives and works of the statesmen of the first rank of the early period of our history as a nation have been published, it is quite fitting that the biographies and correspondence of those of second or even lesser place should be given to the public. In this latter class James McHenry naturally falls. That such was his rank in the judgment of his contemporaries is evidenced by several of the letters of Hamilton, Pierce, Washington and Wolcott (pp. 69, 97, 162, 322, 394, 379, 422). Thus Hamilton wrote when suggesting to Washington a number of persons for Secretary of War: "McHenry, you know. He would give no strength to the administration, but would not disgrace the office. His views are good." As Secretary of War he revealed few qualifications for the position, for, as Wolcott said, while a man of honor he was "not skilled in the details of executive business".

We are indebted to Dr. Steiner's interest and zeal in carefully examining a mass of correspondence and papers preserved by McHenry's descendants, and in selecting therefrom all that was of general interest and value connected with the career of this well-nigh forgotten statesman. McHenry had a large correspondence with many persons prominent in public life including Washington, Hamilton, Wolcott, Murray, Pickering, Tracy, Tallmadge and other leading Federalists.

In so far as possible the author permits McHenry's correspondence

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

and that of his friends to tell the story of his life and times, merely connecting them by a biographical thread. This method has its disadvantages as well as its merits. We are by no means sure that a brief introductory biography followed by the correspondence would not have made a more useful volume, as it is the correspondence that constitutes the chief value of the work. Whatever view we may hold in regard to this matter, all will recognize the skill with which the editorial work has been done. Much of the best material has been drawn from the papers of contemporary statesmen and several have here been published for the first time.

Less than fifty pages suffice to cover the earlier period of McHenry's life, including his varied services during the Revolutionary War, as surgeon, Washington's secretary and Lafayette's aid. In 1781 he entered upon his public career as a member of the Maryland senate. From that time to 1796 he was almost continuously in the service of his state, either in the Continental Congress, the Federal Convention, the state's ratifying convention or as a member of the state legislature. The correspondence of this period is not very full and the diary which McHenry kept during the time he was in attendance upon the Federal Convention is disappointing, but a few letters from Washington are of importance. Notwithstanding the meagreness of the material, the introduction of certain letters of a purely personal nature, especially those to the lady he later married, is open to question.

Fully three-fourths of the volume is devoted to the last twenty years of his life, opening in 1796 with his appointment by Washington as Secretary of War, which position he continued to fill under Adams until the disruption of his cabinet in May, 1800. The correspondence for this period is voluminous and interesting. It reveals how fully McHenry was under the domination of Hamilton, although he frequently tried the latter by his lack of administrative ability. The detailed account of the strife between Adams and his cabinet over the appointment of the generals would appear to be the final word on this affair, which contributed so largely to the disruption of the Federalist party. Some idea of the bitterness of the strife between our first parties and the current belief in the depravity of one's opponents is gained from a letter of Washington's, urging McHenry not to appoint Democrats to office, as "you could as soon scrub the blackamoor white as to change the principles of the profest Democrat" who "will leave nothing unattempted to overthrow the government of the country". McHenry likewise characterizes Jefferson, Madison and Gallatin as "political adventures on the tempestious sea of Democracy". It is interesting to learn from one of Hamilton's letters in 1799 that he not only advocated "the possession of Florida and Louisiana", but also believed that "we ought to squint at South America", a suggestion that even goes beyond the designs of the most ardent imperialist of our own day.

Although after 1800 McHenry passed the remainder of his life as a

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

private citizen he continued a keen observer of public affairs and in active correspondence with several of the New England Federalists. Their letters throw many new and important side-lights upon the Federalist attitude towards contemporary events, showing how partyism and sectionalism had triumphed over their earlier tendencies toward nationalism.

Dr. Steiner is so warm an admirer of McHenry's attractive personality that he is a very sympathetic but by no means an uncritical biographer. He comes to his defense in several instances and rates his genius and ability more highly than do his contemporaries or most historians.

The volume is illustrated with several successful reproductions, in color, of mininatures, and is provided with an excellent index.

The Works of James Buchanan, Comprising his Speeches, State Papers and Private Correspondence. Collected and edited by JOHN BASSETT MOORE. Volume I., 1813–1830; Volume II., 1830–1836; Volume III., 1836–1838. (Philadelphia and London: J. B. Lippincott and Company. 1908. Pp. cxxiii, 451; x, 514; viii, 526.)

THE basis of what will doubtless be the definitive edition of Buchanan's writings, undertaken and carried through with the support of his niece, the late Mrs. Henry E. Johnston, formerly Harriet Lane, appears to be the Buchanan papers in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. Professor Moore has been able to include, however, important papers from the Library of Congress, especially the Jackson and Van Buren collections, and from the Department of State; he has reprinted from Curtis's biography what could not be found elsewhere; while for Buchanan's speeches in Congress he has used the official reports. It is disturbing to find that Curtis should often have printed his documents carelessly or fragmentarily, but Professor Moore points out numerous instances of erroneous or partial reproduction. The arrangement of the papers, in these three volumes extending only to 1838, is strictly chronological, the source of each document is carefully indicated, and brief notes supply necessary data, mainly of a personal nature. As pieces of straightforward and attractive book-making the set promises to be in every way praiseworthy.

Buchanan entered upon his long career of public service in December, 1821, when, at the age of thirty, he took his seat in Congress as a representative from Pennsylvania, his native state. Of his writings previous to this time Professor Moore prints but two specimens: a letter to Jared Ingersoll, in 1813, soliciting an appointment as deputy attorney-general, and a fragment of a Fourth of July oration, 1815, in which his early Federalist sympathies appear. In Congress he soon won distinction as a man of legal ability and laborious industry. A speech of

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

March 12, 1822, against the pending bankruptcy bill (I. 24), he declared in his autobiography to be one of the best ever delivered by him in Congress. He favored the tariffs of 1824 and 1828 (I. 56, 233, 330), and at first gave his support to internal improvements (I. 252); but in 1829, after considering Monroe's constitutional objections (I. 383), he opposed further appropriations for the Cumberland Road, and urged the cession of the road to the states through which it ran. His close acquaintance with Jackson, first instanced here in a cordial letter of May 29, 1825 (I. 138), involved him in the scandal of the "corrupt bargain". October 16, 1826, we find him writing to Duff Green that, although he (Buchanan) had seen Jackson in regard to the Clay vote a few days before the decision to vote for Adams was known, "I had no authority from Mr. Clay or his friends to propose any terms to General Jackson, in relation to their votes, nor did I make any such proposition" (I. 219). As to a "corrupt bargain", that, he says, was a natural inference, but it will never be proved by direct evidence. He returned to the subject again the following July in a letter to Ingham (I. 260), in which he still shows anxiety not to be thought an emissary of Clay. He championed without reserve, however, Jackson's view of the election of 1825, and in 1828 spoke several times in favor of retrenchment and against the alleged extravagance of the Adams administration.

That Buchanan could on occasion take a position which, if it correctly represented his opinion, was indicative of a curious mental twist, is shown by a remarkable speech of 1830 (I. 440), in which the withdrawal of the Supreme Court justices from circuit duty was strongly opposed on the ground, among others, that by living always at Washington they would lose touch with the people, be unable to keep up with the course of state legislation, and become in time wholly subservient to the President! For the most part, however, his course was consistent and increasingly influential. In 1830, as chairman of the House Committee on Judiciary, he drew the articles of impeachment in the case of Judge Peck; and in January, 1831, courageously resisted the famous attempt to repeal the twenty-fifth section of the Judiciary Act of 1789, regulating appeals to the Supreme Court (II. 67). The same broad views of public policy as distinct from party advantage dictated his opposition, in February, 1831, to the proposal to strike out the appropriation for the salary of John Randolph, then minister to Russia.

In May of the same year Buchanan was himself offered the Russian post, and accepted it. His diary, beginning March 21, 1832, supplements for this period his public and private correspondence. As minister he had a chance to display the tact and diplomatic skill which Professor Moore notes as his special gift, and his success, particularly in the negotiation of a treaty of commerce and navigation, was gratifying. A treaty of maritime rights, however, he was unable to secure. The business methods of the Department of State were evidently unsatisfactory, for Buchanan repeatedly complains that necessary books and documents

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

are not sent to him, and on December 20, 1832, writes: "I have not received the scrape of a pen from the Department of State since I left home" (II. 307). He found time to correspond with Jackson and others about American politics, commended the bank veto (II. 241), and noted the praise of European newspapers for the nullification proclamation and messages (II. 316).

Buchanan returned to the United States in the autumn of 1833. Although already several times mentioned as a vice-presidential possibility, he had himself been inclined to think that his public career was over (II. 333), and had considered opening a law office in New York or Baltimore. In December, 1834, however, he was chosen a United States senator. In response to a letter from Jacob Kern and others, informing him of his election, he admitted the right of the legislature to instruct its senators (II. 402); and in February, 1838, he yielded to a resolution of the assembly and voted against the Subtreasury Bill, which he had previously supported (III. 380). In the Senate he at once championed Jackson's course in relation to France (II. 408), maintaining that the time for a vigorous assertion of American rights had come. In January, 1837, he spoke at length in support of Benton's expunging resolution, voting, as he observed, "not cheerfully" but from "imperious duty" (III. 168). In 1836 he opposed the recognition of Texan independence (III. 60), though sympathizing with Texas; and he was still in opposition on March 1, 1837 (III. 247), and voted against the resolution which prevailed. He was already on record as approving Jackson's course with the bank, and his letters contain a number of references to the popular approval which he detected. Like Jackson, too, he came to believe in the wisdom of a complete divorce of the federal government from banks.

The question of slavery Buchanan could not dodge even had he wished to do so, and his treatment of the subject at this time was at least as enlightened as that of most of his party associates. In February, 1836, we find him opposing petitions for the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia (III. 1), notwithstanding the fact that in 1819, at Lancaster, he had been one of a committee which drafted strong resolutions against slavery in new states and territories; but the opposition in the Senate to the reception of abolition memorials called out his unqualified condemnation (III. 553). He agreed with Calhoun, however, in desiring the exclusion of anti-slavery matter from the mails (III. 83). There is nothing to show that he as yet saw much below the surface of events. Jackson had written to him exultantly on March 21, 1833, "Thus die nullification and secession", and Buchanan saw no reason to fear that the dead would rise.

A useful feature of this edition is an index to Buchanan's career in Congress, extending to 1845. The documents in volume III. stop with June, 1838.

WILLIAM MACDONALD.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Life and Letters of George Bancroft. In two volumes. By M. A. DeWolfe Howe. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1908. Pp. xi, 294; 364.)

The basis of Mr. Howe's work has been a collection of Bancroft's papers placed in his hands by the late Mrs. John C. Bancroft, daughter-in-law of the historian. While the papers were voluminous, they had been already somewhat classified, and contained not only many originals of early letters, but also copies of those of later date. In addition, Mr. Howe has made use of such manuscript collections as the Jackson, Van Buren and Polk papers in the Library of Congress, and has had the invaluable assistance of numerous friends and correspondents of Bancroft. Here and there a letter which had already seen the light is reproduced, but far the greater portion of the contents of these volumes is now for the first time printed. The volumes represent, however, only a selection from the great mass of Bancroft papers, and make no claim to completeness in any direction. On the other hand, Mr. Howe systematically gives to the letters the foremost place, and his narrative, though dealing informingly with the general course of Bancroft's life as well as with its critical moments, is as a rule elaborated only to the point of skilfully piecing the letters together. It may be said at once that Mr. Howe has done his work judiciously, and that the picture of the great historian which he presents is at least clear in outline and interesting in detail.

Fortunately for the biographer, Bancroft was not only a voluminous correspondent, but a matter of fact one as well. He wrote in the greatest detail of what he did from day to day, of his friendships, his journeys and his work; and his letters, almost always lively and forcible in style, are a readable chronicle of his multifarious activities. What strikes one most often, perhaps, in these volumes is the remarkable range and character of his acquaintance. From the time when as a youth of eighteen he began his studies at Göttingen to the closing days at New York, Newport and Washington, he was fortunate in his friends. Extraordinary indeed is the galaxy of scholars, statesmen and scientists whose names stud the pages of his letters, and among whom he moved on terms of admitted equality and not seldom of intimacy. To few Americans of the nineteenth century did the intellectual leaders of Europe pay such spontaneous and ready homage.

Mr. Howe well observes that the periods of a man's life are not marked off one from another with the definiteness of chapters in a book, and warns his readers that the topical grouping of his material does not imply sudden transitions or absence of gradual growth in Bancroft's career. In the case of Bancroft, however, the natural divisions are exceptionally well marked. Beginning as a brilliant student at home and abroad, he passed a few years of unsuccessful schoolmastering and preaching before finding his sphere in politics and history. Mr. Howe

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

points out, perhaps with over-emphasis, the social disadvantage which the entertainer of Democratic opinions was under in the New England of the thirties, though suggesting that Bancroft may have been one of those who foresaw the coming change of the Jacksonian régime and shrewdly took his position early. Still, when one considers his intimate relations with Van Buren and Polk and his selection for the navy portfolio, not to speak of his later distinguished service as minister to Great Britain and Germany, it must be admitted that social discrimination had its compensations. The fact was, however, as his letters abundantly show, that Bancroft, notwithstanding his ten-volume assertion of American democracy, was himself cosmopolitan, and could somewhat do without New England in the larger social life in which he moved.

As a private citizen, on the other hand, Bancroft's attitude towards politics had in it much of aloofness. He expressed himself with frankness on political subjects in his letters; he gauged with singular accuracy the nature of the struggle between the North and the South in 1861–1865, and saw more clearly than many active leaders the dangers of Republican reconstruction; but he was not much consulted by public men on questions of the day, nor did he often affect the course of events. The claim that he was chiefly instrumental in securing the nomination of Polk, already made in a letter of Bancroft's published in this REVIEW in July, 1906, is further enforced by the letter of July 6, 1844, to Polk (I. 251–255), in which the episode is circumstantially described. This, and his essential authorship of Johnson's first message, constitute his chief unofficial contributions to politics.

The many who doubtless will turn to these volumes for details regarding Bancroft's method and work as a historian are doomed in the main to disappointment. Beyond brief mention of the inception of the *History* and of the appearance of the successive volumes and revisions, Mr. Howe's pages give little information not accessible in Bancroft's own prefaces. The letters contain occasional allusions to the visitation of archives, the search for documents, and journeys undertaken to settle some geographical point; but these allusions are not many. The defects of Bancroft's historical method have long since been pointed out, and Mr. Howe wisely refrains from anything more than a brief and judicial restatement of the case, free alike from harsh censure or unfrank apology. As for the letters, they throw no valuable light on the historian's frame of mind. It was worth while, however, to call attention to the zeal and painstaking with which Bancroft pursued his ideal of accuracy, his generous appreciation, albeit with some disheartening exceptions, of those who pointed out his errors, and his readiness to sacrifice in later editions many a florid passage that had had its day. That Bancroft was, on the whole, more highly regarded outside of historical circles than within them, these volumes seem to show; for, of the notable names which fill their pages, those of historians, save Ranke, are relatively few.

WILLIAM MACDONALD.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Letters and Literary Memorials of Samuel J. Tilden. In two volumes. Edited by JOHN BIGELOW, LL.D. (New York and London: Harper and Brothers. 1908. Pp. xxxii, 394; 395–752.)

THESE volumes must be considered as a complement to Mr. Bigelow's *Life of Samuel J. Tilden* and his collection of Tilden's *Writings and Speeches.* It is only natural to look for the best available material which may throw light upon his career and character, and incidentally justify the statements of the biography. The editor states that Tilden from an early period of his life saved his papers. "At school he preserved all his composition exercises, and from that time to the close of his life it may well be doubted if he ever wrote a note or document of any kind of which he did not preserve the draft or a copy." It is to be presumed he was equally careful to preserve the important letters he received from others, for the accumulation of correspondence which fell into the hands of his executors was "measured by the ton" and covered "almost every important political question by which this nation has been agitated" since 1829. The results are not very rich. There are only some 130 letters from Tilden himself, and of those only about one-half relate to public or political questions. The 700 pages of the two volumes are made up of letters to Tilden, newspaper clippings of articles, interviews and papers of the editor of the compilation. Much is trivial, and not a little is better calculated to display the prejudices of the editor than Tilden's opinions.

As a test of the value of this collection the reader naturally first turns to the two leading incidents of Tilden's career—the exposure of the Tweed ring, and the presidential election of 1876. It cannot be said that new light is thrown upon either event, or that the known facts are emphasized by collateral evidence. The letters from Charles O'Conor on the legal aspect of the case against the ring are very interesting, and the position of Tilden as the leader on the side of public morality is established; but that phase of a great public event, in which the effect upon the spectator serves, as it were, as a measure of civic spirit, is sadly wanting. Was not Tilden overwhelmed with letters offering assistance, sympathy, the moral support of wealth and social position? Were not party feelings sunk in a general union to hold up his hand against the strongly entrenched corruptionists who had so shamelessly robbed city and bound the state? If so, the letters given in these volumes give very faint evidence of such an expression. It is much the same in the electoral crisis of 1876. No new light is thrown upon Tilden's own position, and the leaders of the party appear to have been paralyzed so far as giving comfort and advice to the wronged candidate. The Electoral Commission never received the support of Tilden, but there is almost nothing to show what he wrote to, or received from, those who were involved in the crisis. Hints of betrayal by his "friends" will not

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

compensate for the absence of actual letters and documents. Nor are there many important letters from public men. The names represented are Silas Wright, Martin and John Van Buren, John A. Dix, Francis P. Blair, Horatio Seymour, Charles O'Conor and Daniel Manning. Less than one hundred letters from these writers make up the most important part of the two volumes—a somewhat slight showing. So many of the political leaders of the Democratic party in New York, from 1845 to 1885, are not even mentioned in these volumes that one is puzzled to know to what Tilden's eminence in politics was due.

We can draw only one conclusion, that the papers of Tilden had been examined before they came into the keeping of the literary executors, and much of personal and historical value removed or destroyed.

Tilden never intended to pursue a public career, but always had a close connection with the party activities in New York. His very association with Van Buren colored his views and gave him a certain tendency of action. He was not so large a figure in the party councils as to command influence, and it was his wealth and position as a lawyer that made his party managers turn to him for advice and party manifestoes. In 1845 he declined to be considered for the New York collectorship, because he was reluctant to hold "a mere pecuniary, professional office" at the sacrifice of his professional pursuits. His suggestions for Pierce's cabinet, made in 1853, make very interesting reading, if only for his recommendation of Dix, whom Seymour afterwards denounced to him. As early as this, Tilden believed that "in our time the chief political duty seems to be to protect the people from plunder under the forms of legislation and in the abuse of administration." He was a supporter of party—"the truth is that four-fifths of the rank and file follow the organization, by whichever leaders it is wielded." For this reason he was severe on those who had lent their official character and influence to disorganize the party. Yet he was not aggressive. "It seems to me, however, that there is more *not* to be done than *to be* done. It is a safe rule in affairs—and not less so in mere declarations that simply commit you without producing any practical result—that when you are in doubt what to do, do as little as possible." He was suggested for candidate for governor of New York by the Van Buren men in 1866, but his great opportunity came with the Tweed ring.

He was scrupulous about undertaking to influence his successors in office or those who might publicly be looked upon as deeply indebted to him for aid in securing office. This is illustrated by his letter declining to recommend anybody or anything to Governor Robinson "of my own motion, or unless he had occasion to consult me". When Cleveland was elected to the presidency, he took the same stand, but did make some suggestions through Manning, whose relations with Tilden were close. It is difficult to believe, however, that Cleveland ever offered to turn over the making of his cabinet to Tilden, and the letters printed in the *Life* but not reprinted in these volumes would point to the bias

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of the editor's mind and ambitions. In matters of appointment, Tilden urged consulting with local leaders, who should not however govern absolutely the appointing power. "Distrust of one's friends will generally result in misplaced confidence in inferior persons or in ill-advised action." True, but the President was often misled by placing his trust in the recommendations of party leaders. Cleveland gave Noyes an appointment at the instance of George Hoadley; yet Noyes had been closely associated with the republicans in the "fraud of 1876", and Hoadley asks Tilden to press him on Cleveland for the office of Attorney-General.

It is such a collection as this that should throw light upon the trend of the Democratic party during Tilden's ascendancy, but we are somewhat disappointed in the poverty of record. There were demands for the renomination of Tilden in 1880 and in 1884, not only because he was "defrauded" in 1876, but because he was the strongest experienced man available. Weed's comment on the convention which nominated Hancock is not without suggestion. "In the talk and action the old dictation of the South was prevalent without the old intellect." Then, too, Henry Tilden's comment on the Cincinnati convention of 1880: "There is little to consult about. There is so much jealousy, and so many statesmen I am glad you are out of it." It is curious to recall that Payne of Ohio came near obtaining the nomination, and might have succeeded but for his connection with the Standard Oil, "which had ruined too many men" in Ohio and elsewhere to make it safe to take him. Hancock was a political blunder; but Tilden's positive withdrawal in 1884 made Cleveland's nomination certain. There is nothing on the convention of that year, but some letters from Smith Weed on Manning and Cleveland. An extract from the editor's diary is hardly conclusive evidence of what was promised or performed. The process of cabinet-making is one of great difficulty, and in Cleveland's case must have been greater than usual because his acquaintance with public men was not wide. If Tilden was promised a "practical influence" in selecting the cabinet, and understood from Manning that he should name the member from New York, Manning himself was the man. Lamar appears to have been Tilden's suggestion, but the attempt to give support to Randall's tariff views hardly showed a broad idea of cabinet functions. Fortunately the effort failed. Tilden's advice to Manning, freely given, is judicious, but he never seems to have realized the importance of tariff reform, and he advised the gradual correction of the political influence of postmasters, then wholly Republican.

Mr. Bigelow can hardly be responsible for the many errors in names and arrangement of papers. If we find somewhat too much of the genial editor in the volumes, he has good examples to quote, and we should be grateful for what he has given.

F.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Alexander H. Stephens. By LOUIS PENDLETON. [American Crisis Biographies, edited by ELLIS PAXSON OBERHOLTZER, Ph.D.] (Philadelphia: George W. Jacobs and Company. 1908. Pp. 406.)

MR. PENDLETON has made a decidedly interesting book; and a book to be taken rather seriously. He had a good opportunity. The two earlier books about Stephens—Henry Cleveland's *Life, Letters and Speeches,* and Messrs. Johnston and Browne's *Life*—were both written before he died, both are out of print, and neither is a critical, scholarly biography. And the character and career of Stephens do really justify careful study.

Throughout a long life, Stephens was continually catching the attention, not of the South only, but of the entire country. He could do this largely by virtue of an unusually appealing personality. Lincoln's sense of the person was well-nigh unerring, and Stephens seems to have taken stronger hold of him than any other of the many interesting Southern men whom he encountered during his term in Congress. February 2, 1848, he wrote to his law partner in Illinois: "I take up my pen to tell you that Mr. Stephens, of Georgia, a little, slim, pale-faced, consumptive man, with a voice like Logan's, has just concluded the very best speech of an hour's length I ever heard. My old, withered, dry eyes are full of tears yet." As with Lincoln himself, a rooted melancholy seems to have been, in part at least, the source of Stephens's personal charm; and Mr. Pendleton now surprises one with the suggestion that the secret source of this characteristic may have been the same mysterious misfortune which is thought to have darkened the lives of Dean Swift, of Carlyle and of Ruskin. But the pitiful slightness and frailness of Stephens's body, in such striking contrast with his really extraordinary intellectual energy, might alone account for the interest he always aroused. "A queer looking bundle" a Northern newspaper called him. "An immense cloak, a high hat, and peering somewhere out of the middle a thin, pale, sad little face." And one recalls Lincoln's irresistible remark at the Hampton Roads conference that Stephens, doffing his great coat, was "the smallest nubbin to come out of so much husk" he had ever seen. That was not all, however. Out of a cruel struggle with poverty in his childhood, Stephens had brought an intense sympathy with suffering, and a deep sense of human brotherhood. To whites and blacks alike he endeared himself, in his personal relations, by countless generosities. There were more reasons than one why he was the kind of man people liked to see and hear.

So far from making too much of his personal traits, I think Mr. Pendleton makes decidedly too little, although he presents them very well; and there is not enough of his personal history. Apparently, it is Stephens's part in the great sectional controversy, and that controversy itself, which has absorbed his biographer. Mr. Pendleton turns from the

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

man to his times as often as Roosevelt does in his *Benton,* in another series; but of these two biographers Mr. Pendleton is decidedly the superior in knowledge of his background. He belongs, one would say, to that school of Southern workers in history—including such men as Professor W. L. Fleming and Mr. A. H. Stone—which is distinguished less by freedom from the sense of a duty of loyalty to their section than by painstaking thoroughness and a rather formidable readiness with verified facts. Should Mr. Rhodes ever revise his earlier volumes, he should find it worth his while to read Mr. Pendleton's chapters on Nullification at the North, Georgia Secedes, and the South's Handicap in the War.

Mr. Pendleton is weakest, I think, in his discussion of the question of the right of Secession. At one point (p. 190) he writes as if the national theory of the Union conferred the sovereignty on the government at Washington, instead of the American people as a whole. Like Mr. C. F. Adams and other recent writers, he attaches, I think, too much importance to mere selfish sectional movements and declarations looking toward separation, as throwing light on the nature of the constitutional bond. He does not anywhere give the national view fully, or the reasoning—such as that in Webster's *Reply to Hayne*—which sustains it. That Webster himself, both earlier and later in his career, used language which seems inconsistent with the great *Reply,* is not of the first importance; the main thing is the relative strength of the two arguments, fairly stated.

Mr. Pendleton is strongest, on the other hand, when he is setting forth the case of the South against the North, particularly in the matter of the actual history of slavery and the slave-trade. It was General Lee's conviction that the North had really oppressed the South—not his adhesion to the Secessionist theory—which largely governed him in his momentous decision in 1861; and the trend of recent writing on this general theme is toward a more and more respectful consideration of the South's contentions.

The book, although without distinction of style, is on the whole well written. There is a list of authorities which—curiously enough—does not include Rhodes's *United States* or Professor John C. Schwab's *Confederate States of America.*

W. G. Brown.

The Philippine Islands, 1493–1898. Edited by Emma Helen Blair and James Alexander Robertson. Volume XLVII., 1728–1759. Volume XLVIII., 1751–1765. Volume XLIX., 1762–1765. Volume L., 1764–1800. Volume LI., 1801–1840. Volume LII., 1841–1898. Volume LIII. *Bibliography.* (Cleveland: The Arthur H. Clark Company. 1907, 1908. Pp. 332; 339; 348; 324; 317; 358; 437.)

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Bibliography of the Philippine Islands, Printed and Manuscript. Preceded by a Descriptive Account of the most important Archives and Collections containing Philippina. By JAMES ALEXANDER ROBERTSON. (Cleveland: The Arthur H. Clark Company. 1908. Pp. 437.)

WITH volume LII. the historical text proper of this monumental series on the Philippine Islands came to its end and to the close of Spanish rule. Volume LIII., the *Bibliography,* has been issued separately, in a limited edition, as is shown by the second of the two title-headings of this review. Two more volumes will be devoted to an analytical index of the fifty-three preceding volumes. Mention of these volumes will be made later in connection with a final review of the series as a whole.

The eighteenth-century volumes here considered are notable especially for documents shedding light on economic and fiscal matters, as well as on the Spanish colonial administration from a political standpoint. Matters ecclesiastical and politico-ecclesiastical questions are as much at the front as ever, but their importance begins to be overshadowed. Moreover, the editors, by choice of material and by their annotations, have here made distinct contributions to the politico-economic history of the Philippines, hitherto neglected.

Volume XLVII. is particularly notable for a host of such minor data, not indicated by a summary of its documents. The treatises on the *Misericordia* and the Order of St. John of God, for example, besides covering the record of public charity in the Philippines up to 1740, and incidentally serving as checks on each other, also shed much light on failures and misfortunes in the galleon-trade, and upon the consequent loans from charitable funds to keep the government running. The *Survey* of 1739 of Governor Valdés Tomón shows the other side of the shield, *viz.,* government support and aid of the church and of charitable organizations—this, incidentally to an exposition of the organization of Philippine government, military as well as ecclesiastical. Letters from Auditor Enríquez (1746) and a Jesuit father (1749) bring out, respectively, the rivalry with Dutch and English for Oriental trade and the spectacular events connected with the "conversion" of a sultan of Sulu and his visit to Manila. The manuscript (1759) of a proposal by Nicholas Norton, an Englishman naturalized in Spain, regarding direct trade with the Philippines via the Cape of Good Hope presents much evidence of the Spaniards' neglect of Philippine internal development.

The abstracts from Spanish histories, especially Zúñiga, in volume XLVIII., treat Sultan Ali-Mudin's "conversion" more fully. Documents on Augustinian parishes and missions and the friar-estates, besides bringing out facts as to usurpation of the natives' lands, are also enlightening regarding eighteenth-century population statistics. The Memorial (1765) by Viana, royal fiscal, shows the common unreliability of Philippine statistics of population on the tribute-lists. This Memorial, which

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

was never printed, perhaps because Viana was hostile to the religious orders and perhaps because the Council of Indies thought it impolitic to print its data on Dutch, English, French and Portuguese traders and trade methods, is a document of prime importance, especially regarding commerce and Philippine administration. It occupies nearly one-half of this volume.

Volume XLIX. is devoted to documents, mostly by participants, both English and Spanish, regarding the capture of Manila by the English in 1762, its occupation and the events connected therewith, 1762–1765. The editing of this historical episode has been done in a very commendable way. Various charts and plans that are helpful are also reproduced. The English documents here printed add to our knowledge considerably, but in the main are supplementary to the various relations of this episode already published. There is a well-selected bibliography of these at the end of the volume.

Volume L., covering the last third of the eighteenth century, and the two remaining volumes of text, embracing the entire nineteenth century of Spanish rule in the Philippines, deal with just that period which is most important to the student whose interest in Philippine history relates to its bearing upon the events subsequent to 1898, and upon American policy, present and future. In the general review of the series, it will be in point to consider the distribution of material in the fifty-three volumes of text. Here, one may note the great condensation that has been necessary in these three volumes. In part, abstracts from Montero y Vidal's history, covering the periods 1764–1800, 1801–1840 and 1841–1872 respectively in these volumes, have been relied upon to make the historical record complete. But this results in pretty curt treatment in volume L., for example, of such important matters as Archbishop Sancho's contest over secularization of parishes and episcopal visitation, the expulsion of the Jesuits in 1768, and the Anda and Basco administrations. Regarding the expulsion of the Jesuits, however, a good brief summary of the events is given from Dánvila y Collado, Crétineau-Joly and Montero y Vidal; one notes, only, the notable lack of references to the extended bibliography of the subject. The contest over secularization and episcopal visitation also gets further mention in two little documents of 1771, but still is not adequately treated. Anda's famous Memorial of 1768 is reproduced from Pardo de Tavera's edition of 1900, while Viana's letter to the king in 1767 shows where Anda got many of his data. Another document, a memorial on the financial affairs of the Philippines, is from the pen of the same useful critic, Viana. Spanish administration of the islands is also revealed from the legislative side in the "ordinances of good government" of Governors Corcuera, Cruzat and Raón, reproduced, partially summarized, from J. F. Del Pan's edition.

The new material of volume LI. is found in three documents: a reprint of *Remarks on the Philippine Islands and on their Capital, 1819 to 1822* (Calcutta, 1828) by an anonymous Englishman, containing some

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

data of value on social and economic matters and the Spanish hostility to foreign traders; a report by a Spanish official in 1827 on administrative evils, recommending a yet more illiberal political régime and trade policy; and, appended to the above, a brief letter of a Spanish merchant in Manila, much more liberal in his ideas on economic matters but a bitter critic of the natives. A useful appendix to this volume traces the record of the representatives of the Philippines in the Cortes of 1810–1813, 1820–1823 and 1835–1837, drawn chiefly from the *Diario de las Cortes*. A second appendix gives a list and brief biographies of the archbishops of Manila down to 1898. Here, one notes, Pedro Payo (1876–1889) is dismissed in two lines, without relation of his connection with the political troubles of the eighties, while injustice is done the last Spanish archbishop, Nozaleda, in repeating Foreman's statement that he was rejected by the citizens of Valencia in 1905 "because of evil reports about him". The truth is, Nozaleda was made a political scapegoat for the disasters of Spain in the Philippine Islands.

The condensation becomes more noticeable in volume LII. The privately printed and hitherto little known third volume of Sinibaldo de Mas's *Informe* of 1841, the two first volumes of which constitute one of the standard works on the Philippines, is reproduced in a translation partly synopsized. His final suggestion regarding a policy looking toward future independence of the Philippines is of more than merely curious interest to-day. His long passages advocating greater power for the friars and illiberal and retroactive measures in general are, of course, in direct contradiction with the liberal programme finally presented as an alternative; a possible explanation, not advanced by the editors, is that Mas, in the major portion of his privately-printed discussion of the Philippines, was really making a sly attack on the friars and showing the absurdities that would result from pushing the logic of the reactionaries to its final consequences. The report of the official Matta in 1843 is a short one, but valuable both for corroboration of Mas and comparison with him. The period 1860–1898, which may be called the "modern era in the Philippines", is covered in a hundred-page contribution by James A. LeRoy, which attempts to furnish a working bibliography for the study of this period in all its phases, and primarily as a period of Filipino development, socially, economically and politically, with an editorial introduction and comment. It is very fittingly followed by the constitution of the Philippine League, as drawn by José Rizal in 1892. This document, which has been published in Spanish for the first time during the past year (in Retana's *Vida y Escritos del Dr. José Rizal*), makes plain how flimsy was the charge against Rizal that this league was revolutionary, a charge which lay at the very basis of his conviction and execution in 1896. The chronological record of Spanish rule is very appropriately closed with a document of the religious orders, which had from the first been at the forefront in this history; it is the memorial signed by the four Philippine orders that had figured in the

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

political controversy and by the Jesuits and addressed to the Colonial Minister at Madrid (but never formally presented) on the eve of the outbreak of war in 1898 and just before Dewey's ships sailed from Hongkong. Those who believe that the friars' mission in the Philippines was over will find confirmation of that view in the arrogant tone and intolerant viewpoint of this message, a veritable gauntlet of defiance flung down before the Liberal administration at Madrid. But it is an eloquent defense of the friars' record in the Philippines, nevertheless, and a fine piece of rhetoric. Though the translation is faulty in places, it makes available a document practically unknown heretofore. A brief appendix deals with agriculture, and the last thirty-five pages are devoted to errata and addenda to volumes I. to LII.

Mr. Robertson has not attempted, in his *Bibliography,* to make a full and comprehensive catalogue of Philippina. There is no complete list of printed Philippina. Retana's recent *Aparato Bibliográfico* lists the greatest number of titles, though the Library of Congress bibliography of 1903, when used in conjunction with Pardo de Tavera's *Biblioteca Filipina,* likewise issued by the Library of Congress in 1903, is the most useful compilation of this sort. Mr. Robertson's aim has been, not to supplant the works mentioned, but to supplement them and lesser works of the sort; and in so doing, he has made a distinct contribution in several different lines. In the first place, in an introduction of about fifty pages he has brought together an array of informative data to be obtained elsewhere only in fragmentary form; this concerns principally the chief stores of Philippine manuscripts and books in public archives, libraries and private collections the world over, and secondarily notes on Philippine linguistics, cartography, photographs, museum-collections, sales-catalogues, etc. Secondly, he has "pointed out the sources for a complete bibliographical study of the Philippines" in three lists of printed works, as follows: (1) Philippine bibliographies and important bibliographical lists, ten pages; (2) other bibliographies, catalogues of public and private libraries, and sales catalogues, listing Philippina, seventeen pages; (3) books and pamphlets containing bibliographical information on the Philippines (with some rare entries), fifteen pages. Following are forty-three pages devoted to a list primarily of the printed works on the Philippines which have been used or extracts from which have been printed in this series, though some rarer Philippina not directly used have been listed and described here. The descriptions and data regarding copies of the rare Philippine titles are, in fact, the chiefly valuable features of this list; and no other Philippine bibliography can compete with Mr. Robertson's in this respect.

As a cataloguer, Mr. Robertson set for himself primarily the task of listing manuscripts on the Philippines. Two-thirds of this volume are therefore occupied, first, with a list and full descriptions of the manuscripts used in whole or in part in this series, and, second, with a longer list of other Philippine manuscripts, for some of which descrip-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tions have not been available. The lists are drawn from the Archives of the Indies at Seville more than from anywhere else, this being the chief Spanish depository of Philippine manuscripts. As this work was originally planned to extend only to 1800, and as the archives at Manila are not yet catalogued, nor have the Philippine manuscripts recently unearthed by Professor Bolton at Mexico City been examined, it need not be said that this list is not complete, nor could it be, in any case; but it is the first real attempt to catalogue Philippine manuscripts. The nineteenth is less well represented than any other century, but the gap is partly filled by the entries of the valuable documents in the collection of Mr. E. E. Ayer, of Chicago, and of the Guam documents now in the Library of Congress. Moreover, it should be mentioned that few of the years between 1565 and 1898 are not covered by some manuscript in this list, which thus forms a quite complete historical record.

A good index, chiefly of names of course, closes the *Bibliography*. Painstaking editorial work is apparent all through it. The reviewer has handled it considerably without detecting an error of statement, and the very few mistakes in proper names thus far noted seem chargeable rather to original transcription than proof-reading.

JAMES A. LEROY.

The Description and Natural History of the Coasts of North America (Acadia). By NICOLAS DENYS. Translated and edited by WILLIAM F. GANONG, Ph.D., Professor in Smith College. [Publications of the Champlain Society, Volume II.] (Toronto, The Society. 1908. Pp. xvi, 625.)

THE narrative of Denys, published in Paris in 1672, has never before been translated into English, and the book has been practically inaccessible, since it was not only of excessive rarity, but written in uncouth French marred by frequent obscurities.

Though born in 1598 of a somewhat distinguished family, Nicolas Denys emerges for the first time from the mists which had concealed his youth and early manhood in 1633. His book furnishes indisputable evidence that in these earlier years he had had little to do with schools, and that he was an expert in everything pertaining to the important industry of fishing. This naturally suggests that he had long been an exile from the paternal roof and, probably, an adventurer in the fleets which had annually quitted Honfleur and neighboring ports to court the ever-present dangers of the fishing grounds of Acadia, or Terre Neufve. Twelve years were passed, it would seem, in affairs of small significance, when suddenly his day came. He was now fifty-five years of age, hardened and sharpened by exposure and experience, this "Great-beard", as he was called; in fact, in the zenith of his physical and mental powers.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Company of New France had secured in the usual way through favoritism at court immense possessions in the New World, and in due time after a wintry existence came as is usual in such cases to a serious turn in its affairs. The "Great-beard" was on the spot and conversant with the company's condition, so it was not over-difficult for him to secure from it "a grant of the coasts and islands in the Gulf of St. Lawrence from Cape Canso to Cape Rosier", a vast region comprising "Cape Breton, New Brunswick, Prince Edward Island, the Magdalens and a part of Gaspé". He was now a great land-owner with a monopoly of the fur-trade within the region mentioned, and to distinguish him still more as a favorite of Fortune, the king, on January 31, 1654, endowed him with letters patent as "Governor and Lieutenant-General" over the territory granted him by the Company of New France, as well as Newfoundland, together with a monopoly of the sedentary fishery on the coast of Acadia "as far as Virginia". He returned from Paris to reign the proud monarch of all he surveyed, with a domain larger than the king's. But, taking advantage of his failure to procure the requisite number of settlers to meet a condition in his grant, a competitor arose, one Sieur Doublet, who caused him to be shorn of a large slice of his rich possessions.

For twelve years he struggled against this and other difficulties, and then went again to Paris, where he succeeded in getting all his former rights and privileges confirmed to him, and in 1668, now seventy years of age, he returned in triumph to his headquarters at St. Peter's; a short-lived triumph, however, for a few months after his return his establishment with all its contents was destroyed by fire. Impoverished and well-nigh discouraged, he returned to France to publish his book, doubtless hoping by its sale to reap some pecuniary benefit, and, above all, to excite interest enough in his distant principality to induce emigration thereto; but in this he was disappointed, and he remained in France for many years, it is said "in beggary". Finally, being granted a seigniory in his former domain affording a shred of his old wealth and power, he found his way back to America. Death in 1688 soon ended his remarkable career of ninety years. This brief sketch of Denys will give the reader a glimpse of what the book holds in store for him and prompt him to peruse it.

As already said, we are under especial obligations to Professor Ganong for this excellent translation of Denys's work, and for the painstaking and scholarly manner in which he has accomplished his difficult task, for to make a good translation of this work was a labor involving difficulties which would pass unnoticed by one who had never considered them. The fact is that in translating a book from illiterate, archaic French an author may at the outset lay down the best of rules to follow, yet be obliged to abandon them one after another and, at the end, find himself dissatisfied with his work. Some readers will doubtless wish that the bracketed English words intended to clear passages

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

from ambiguity, as well as the French words likewise in brackets, which are readily found in the French text, had been left out altogether or placed at the bottom of the page, leaving the text clear. These however are minor blemishes in a good piece of work. The enterprise of the Champlain Society in publishing rare works elucidating the history of French exploration and occupation of what is now British North America is to be highly commended, and especially the excellent manner in which their task is being accomplished. The present volume is a praiseworthy specimen of book-making, and should be sought by all lovers of historical books.

JAMES PHINNEY BAXTER.

La Intervencion Francesa en México, segun el Archivo del Mariscal Bazaine. [Documentos Inéditos ó muy Raros para la Historia de México, edited by GENARO GARCÍA. Tomo XVII.] (Mexico: Bouret. 1908. Pp. 284.)

La Intervencion Francesa en México, segun el Archivo del Mariscal Bazaine. [Documentos Inéditos ó muy Raros para la Historia de México, edited by GENARO GARCÍA. Tomo XVIII.] (Mexico: Bouret. 1908. Pp. 275.)

THESE two volumes of documents selected from the papers of Marshal Bazaine carry on the presentation of material from the date reached in two earlier volumes of the same series, November 20, 1863, to April 21, 1864. Their subject-matter grows in interest as they deal more fully with the relations of Bazaine and his Mexican puppets and adversaries. The inherent difficulties of the intervention, the elements of weakness which foredoomed the enterprise to failure, are unconsciously revealed in negotiations with liberal leaders, in accounts of military expeditions, in controversies with the clerical party. But it will be a disappointment to the careful student that these documents contain so little frank confidential correspondence of the leading actors. For that class of material one must still wait for further revelations to supplement earlier publications by Lefèvre, Gaulot, Randon, Loizillon and others. Also one wonders why the present collection does not contain important letters which would naturally find a place in it—for example, that from Napoleon to Bazaine, February 15, 1864 (Gaulot, pp. 246–247), and those from Randon to Bazaine in March and May, 1864 (Gaulot, pp. 258–264).

Señor García shows great interest in impeaching the accuracy and good faith of the work of Gaulot in this field. The preface of volume XVII. is mostly given up to a discussion of this topic, and a certain letter from Señor Lerdo to Señor Saborio is reproduced in facsimile to make the argument clearer. Editorial deficiencies of Señor García himself, which were pointed out in the July number of the REVIEW,

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

and which are but slightly reformed in these later volumes, detract somewhat from the weight of his indictment against M. Gaulot, yet the evidence merits candid consideration. It is no part of the function of the reviewer to essay a defense of M. Gaulot, but a judgment may be expressed that the charge of falsification of documents is not clearly proven. May not the comparison made by Señor García between the Bazaine letter as printed by Gaulot (p. 204) and the Boyer letter as printed by himself (pp. 68–72) simply indicate that the former is Bazaine's letter to his chief of staff to be used as a basis for Boyer's communication to Saborio? Apart from the question of M. Gaulot's use of documents, a certain interest attaches to the substantial issue involved: Did Bazaine make overtures to Lerdo through Saborio? Or, did Lerdo, an important member of the Juarez government, use Saborio to open negotiations with Bazaine? These documents hardly afford a conclusive answer. Venality and vacillation of Mexican anti-interventionists were matched by such compromising and devious expedients of the French that the truth could emerge only by far more detailed presentation of evidence than Señor García gives.

With all its shortcomings the series in which these volumes appear is one of great historical interest, and future issues will be welcomed by all students of the period which they cover.

C. A. Duniway.

South America on the Eve of Emancipation. The Southern Spanish Colonies in the Last Half-Century of their Dependence. By Bernard Moses, Ph.D., LL.D., Professor in the University of California. (New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1908. Pp. v, 356.)

This volume is a natural sequel to the author's *Establishment of Spanish Rule in America.* Like its predecessor it is a collection of essays on related topics rather than a comprehensive treatise. In the former book Professor Moses dealt with the institutions by which Spain governed all her American colonies, while in the present volume he has treated certain phases of the administration of Peru, Chile and Argentina during the latter half of the eighteenth century and the first decade of the nineteenth. Without making any attempt to exhaust the subject, Professor Moses has succeeded in giving excellent pictures of life and institutions in the pre-revolutionary era. His method is to portray selected characters in the final drama of Spanish rule and to give these characters an appropriate background. Viceroys and captains-general, bishops, priests and inquisitors, *encomenderos* and *corregidors,* Indians and negroes, have been given their proper garb; typical provinces, cities and societies have been selected and described; and the most important events of the period narrated in some detail. In a word we have life-like actors, suitable scenery and interesting acts.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"The Capital of South America", Lima, is the subject of the first essay. The appearance of the city does not interest the author so much as its government, its social life and the activities of its ecclesiastics and inquisitors. In "The Vice Royalty of Rio de la Plata" the organization of a vice-regal administration is the principal theme. Tucuman has been selected as a typical "Interior Province" and Buenos Aires as a characteristic "Colonial City" in which to show the peculiarities of local government and the role played by the municipal corporations.

For a "Colonial University" the author has chosen Córdova and has drawn an entertaining picture of life in that ancient seat of learning. Although the date of the disturbance is 1680, it sounds strangely modern to read of students rebelling at an attempt to improve the curriculum. Like others of whom we have heard, they regarded it as an infringement on their rights that "in an institution of learning they should be required to listen to lectures and pass examinations" (p. 159). Yet they had never heard of football.

In "The Social Classes" and also in "An Official Report on the Indians" Professor Moses has sketched the actual conditions of colonial society preceding the Wars of Emancipation. The picture is not a pleasant one yet it is drawn without prejudice. Thanks to his residence in the Philippines and his travels in Spanish-American countries, he has had unusual opportunities to secure intimate personal knowledge of the conditions of life in Spain's former colonies. One cannot help feeling that his point of view is remarkably broad, fair and sympathetic. Professor Moses does not hold a brief for the Spaniards of the eighteenth century but the facilities which he has had for obtaining a thorough understanding of Spanish colonial problems have enabled him to state the case in a manner that appeals strongly to one's sense of justice. Bearing in mind the contemporary conditions in the English and French colonies he points out that "the Spanish system of colonial administration was not an entirely isolated instance of commercial restrictions" (p. 300), but that it was "the popular awakening in the English colonies of America and in France during the last half of the eighteenth century [that] made the restrictions imposed by Spain on her colonies appear more burdensome than ever before." Not till then did "the colonies become distinctly conscious that Spain's short-sighted policy hindered their prosperity" (p. 317).

There are excellent accounts of the rebellion of Tupac Amaru and of the capture and loss of Buenos Aires by the English.

The essays are based on printed sources and the works of such scholars as Bartholome Mitre and Sir Clements Markham. Apparently no attempt has been made to use unprinted sources. It is to be hoped that we shall not be obliged to wait long for the volume on "The State of Society in the Northern Part of South America" which is promised in the preface.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

MINOR NOTICES

Primitive Secret Societies: a Study in Early Politics and Religion. By Hutton Webster, Ph.D., Professor of Sociology and Anthropology in the University of Nebraska. (New York, The Macmillan Company, 1908, pp. xiii, 227.) Mr. Webster's book is a very welcome and important contribution to the study of early society, and yet it is perhaps as notable for what it has not attempted as for what it has performed.

The descriptive part of the work is excellent, the literature has been thoroughly and almost exhaustively digested, the notes and references are admirable, and the work is one which the student of these matters at once pronounces indispensable. Its value is not impaired, either, by the fact that the volume of Schurtz, *Altersklassen und Männerbünde,* treats the same general field admirably. The two works do not follow identical lines, and Webster's is, on the whole, a more satisfactory attempt.

Of course a writer has the privilege of attacking his subject from any angle he pleases, but it seems remarkable that the author made nothing of his opportunity to expand his plan so as to include a treatment of the bearing of the manipulation of the boy by early society on the problems of modern education. The subtitle of the book is *A Study in Early Politics and Religion.* But in this connection Mr. Webster not only does no very close work in co-ordination of the early political and religious situation with later historical conditions, but, I venture to think, in neglecting to treat his materials from the standpoint of the problems of modern pedagogy, he fails to take advantage of his most interesting opportunity.

Within the limits of his attempt, also, it seems to me that the author follows a defective method in assuming that the motives lying behind the organization of secret societies are everywhere the same. If this may not fairly be said to be his standpoint we are at least disappointed that he makes no more formal attempt to determine the preponderance of motives in different regions, but mixes them up. From the standpoint of origins the treatment is not satisfactory.

In another respect also—though it perhaps comes back to the same thing—I think an intensive treatment of a fewer tribes and a more intimate view of the activities of the secret societies as related to the total activities of the group would have produced a better result than the method of collecting all the data of the secret societies of all the tribes of the world without reference to the total social situation.

WILLIAM I. THOMAS.

Glimpses of the Ages, or the "Superior" and "Inferior" Races, so-called, discussed in the Light of Science and History. By Theophilus E. Samuel Scholes, M.D. Volume II. (London, John Long, 1908, pp. x, 493.) The second volume of this work reveals the same moral earnest-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ness and the same absence of proportion in reasoning which characterized the former installment. The author, who is apparently an English colored man of considerable literary ability, is moved by the lack of agreement between the professed tenets of Christianity and the practices of Western nations in their dealings with "inferior" races, and particularly by the tendency in British social and political life towards greater race discrimination against the negro. He now wishes to establish on moral grounds—as he feels that his first volume has already done upon the side of mental and physical development—the thesis that the colored races, especially the negro race, are the equal of the white. He has accumulated much material of interest, out of which he elaborates an impassioned denunciation of England's policy in India and South Africa. One can hardly believe, however, that much change of opinion will be brought about by his arguments, and his methods are anything but scientific. The next volume is to take up the relation of the races in the United States.

Germany in the Early Middle Ages, 476–1250. By William Stubbs, D.D., Regius Professor of Modern History in the University of Oxford. Edited by Arthur Hassall, M.A. (New York, Longmans, Green and Company, 1908, pp. xi, 254.) Mr. Hassall has not considered it necessary to explain to us what his work as editor has been. It seems, however, that he has done little more than divide the text into chapters and add a few foot-notes and an exceedingly short list of books touching the same subject. In the preface he says that the book originated in a series of lectures which Bishop Stubbs delivered at Oxford, and from a foot-note we learn that this was forty years ago. Of writers the author refers only to Gibbon, Hallam and Milman. Although he names very few of the contemporary chronicles, there are many indications that he was familiar with the chief ones, and, in fact, one has a distinct impression that the narrative is dominated by chronicles. Although a few errors of the chroniclers have by this means found their way into the text, this domination probably enhances the liveliness of the narrative, at least down to the eleventh century. For, to that time, the chronicles which deal exclusively or chiefly with German affairs are not numerous and are all in much the same tone. On the other hand, the chronicles from the eleventh to the thirteenth century are more numerous and are, almost without exception, intensely partizan—a quality which makes a narrative of the period extremely difficult. This difficulty the author has not overcome, for with the twelfth century his account becomes more meagre and far less satisfactory.

Beginning with the migrations of the Germans, which the author has treated in a stepmotherly fashion, he has recounted the history of Germany from the fourth to the middle of the thirteenth century, dealing chiefly with the purely political side of it. The kings and their doings occupy the centre of the stage, and the period is covered by recounting briefly (there are only 231 pages of text) the history of one

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

reign after another. Particular attention is paid to the territorial divisions of Germany and to the noble families which held them. The political disintegration of Germany—the destruction of its political unity—is briefly traced.

There are some luminous paragraphs about German constitutional development, especially concerning the working out of feudal principles, and at the close of each reign there is generally a characterization of the king, which is usually a model of fairness, sympathetic appreciation of his personal qualities, and generous judgment of his efforts and achievements.

The charm and interest of these characterizations are, however, not maintained throughout the book, for there are many paragraphs, and even pages, which are deadly dull, being little more than a barren list of events, the importance and bearing of which are not even hinted at. The book offers little or nothing to the specialist, is not adapted to use in the class room, and will hardly hold the attention of the general reader, but it may be recommended as collateral reading to college classes in medieval history. In spite of Mr. Hassall's opinion to the contrary, I venture to think that this publication will not add to Bishop Stubbs's reputation as a scholar.

O. J. THATCHER.

Innocent III. Les Royautés Vassales du Saint-Siège. Par Achille Luchaire, Membre de l'Institut. (Paris, Hachette et Cie., 1908, pp. 279.) This fifth and last volume of the author's series upon Innocent III. treats of the establishment of "pontifical imperialism" over nearly all of western Europe. Like its predecessors it is a scholarly work written in inimitable narrative style. Foot-notes are few, but the scholarliness of the work is vouched for by numerous translations of exceedingly well-chosen selections from the sources. The present volume contains five chapters, the first two of which deal with the relations of the pope to the smaller nations of Europe.

The first chapter shows that the sovereignty of the church was very freely exercised over the kings of the Iberian peninsula, and furthermore "la papauté était appelée à sanctionner, non seulement les actes des rois, mais encore ceux des assemblées nationales! Pour tous les laïques comme pour tous les clercs, la volonté de l'Église faisait loi." The succeeding chapter is especially interesting in that it details the remarkable spread of papal domination in the unfamiliar region about the lower Danube. Hungary continued to be a fief; Bosnia accepted Innocent as its feudal lord (pp. 86–87); likewise did Galicia (p. 123), the kingdom of Stephen Nemanja roughly including the present Servia, Montenegro and a large part of Herzegovina (pp. 88, 93), and the kingdom of Johannitza comprising Bulgaria, Roumania and a part of Roumelia (pp. 94–116). Even Constantinople as the Latin kingdom fell under papal sway. This enormous growth of the sovereignty of Rome was helped by

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

nationalism, which was appearing everywhere at the close of the eleventh century. Frequently, as in the case of Portugal, Servia and Bosnia, newly established principalities became vassalages of the papacy in order to maintain themselves against their enemies. Well-established powers, however, found the papal prerogative detrimental to national independence. The struggle of English and French nationalism against Rome is the subject-matter of the last three chapters of the volume under consideration.

John Lackland, though he vigorously opposed papal interference, was obliged by political necessity to become a vassal of Innocent; but Magna Carta may be considered a national expression of disapproval. "Comment nier que la présence, dans la coalition, des trois éléments du corps social anglais ne soit l'indice d'une manifestation nationale dirigée non seulement contre les abus de l'absolutisme, mais aussi contre le régime de gouvernement théocratique que Jean sans Terre avait accepté?" (pp. 238–239). France alone escaped papal suzerainty. To be sure Philip Augustus experienced the power of the church in the affair of Ingeborg, but "dans cette Europe soumise presque tout entière au pouvoir politique de son chef religieux, assujettie temporellement et féodalement à l'Église, une seule nation, la France, avait pu se tenir en dehors du vasselage romain" (p. 274). When the English nation in its struggle against theocracy, in spite of long-standing enmity, appealed to the one power which had escaped papal domination, Philip with little secrecy embraced the opportunity for the aggrandizement of France. This collision of the papacy with the one remaining independent king is the focusing-point of M. Luchaire's narrative (p. 273). Innocent excommunicated Philip, and set out for France to compel him to make peace with John. Simultaneously Philip exacted a written promise from his vassals to disobey the pope if he tried to force a peace (p. 275). At this critical moment Innocent died at Perugia.

EDWARD B. KREHBIEL.

The Pearl-Strings; a History of the Resúliyy Dynasty of Yemen. By 'Aliyyu'bnu'l-Hasan 'El Khazrejiyy. Translation and Text with Annotations and Index. By the late Sir J. W. Redhouse, Litt.D. Edited by E. G. Browne, R. A. Nicholson and A. Rogers, and printed for the Trustees of the "E. J. W. Gibb Memorial". Volume II., containing the Second Half of the Translation. (Leyden, E. J. Brill; London, Luzac and Company, 1907, pp. xxiv, 341.) When the first volume of this work appeared (for a preliminary review of this, see AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW, xiii. 128, 129) it was planned to publish the whole work in five volumes, one of which was to be devoted to the index, tables of dynasties, and maps. It has now been decided (see editor's preface, pp. xxi, xxii) to omit the tables and maps and to incorporate the index with the present volume, thus reducing the whole number of volumes to four. The present volume, comprising

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the second half of the translation, covers the period from the accession of the Sultan Melik Mujáhid to the death of Melik 'Eshref II. (November, 1400), or about eighty years. The index, contained in pages 297 to 341, "remodelled to a certain extent" from Redhouse's manuscript, seems to have been carefully prepared. Final comment must of course be reserved till the volumes containing the annotations and the Arabic text appear, but meantime it is a matter of congratulation that the whole translation has been published, and is now available for historical students.

Erasmus: the Scholar. By John Alfred Faulkner. [Men of the Kingdom Series.] (New York, Eaton and Mains, 1908, pp. 249.) Professor Faulkner's little book suffers—as every book must suffer which is made to fit into the general purpose of a fancifully named series. After all the attempts to classify Erasmus under one or another category, it is a little hard to have to make him out a "man of the kingdom" without a very clear idea of the precise kingdom to which we are expected to assign him. The book makes no claim to originality. It rests obviously upon some independent reading in Erasmus's works and a great deal of clipping from the more quotable of the modern treatises on his life and literary services. There is no careful examination of any of these sources, though three solid pages are devoted to an English Presbyterian clergyman who once intended to write a life of Erasmus.

The frequency of acknowledged quotation gives an air of frankness to the work which is hardly borne out by an examination of the many unacknowledged quotations, especially in the translations, which are not only freely borrowed, but are mangled at discretion in a way to make their defenseless authors wince. The judgment of Erasmus as a man and a scholar is in the main sound, as in fact there is little noteworthy difference to-day among reasonable men on these subjects.

The best parts of Professor Faulkner's work are his little summaries of Erasmus's supposed views on doctrinal points. As a theologian he finds these a congenial topic and is able to express them in forms suited to the training of his prospective readers. Yet it is doubtful whether Erasmus would quite have recognized himself in the picture of his "creed" given in the nineteenth chapter. The brief notes at the end of the volume are mainly references to discussions of controverted points without expression of the author's opinion.

Naval Songs and Ballads. Selected and edited by C. H. Firth, M.A., Regius Professor of Modern History, Oxford. [Publications of the Navy Records Society, Volume XXXIII.] (Printed for the Society, 1908, pp. cxxiii, 387, 4.) This volume contains a collection of about two hundred ballads illustrating the history of the British Navy from the sixteenth to the middle of the nineteenth centuries, although two

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

on engagements in the Hundred Years' War and one on a pilgrimage to St. John of Compostella are inserted. Professor Firth contributes an introduction of over one hundred pages marked by his characteristic and exact scholarship. He is altogether frank in his estimate of the value of this material for the historian. While limited and not to be implicitly trusted it should not be entirely neglected. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, especially, the popular ballad filled to a large degree the place of the modern cheap newspaper in retailing events, and in both moulding and reflecting current public opinion. In addition, those written by the sailors themselves throw true and vivid lights on the sea-life of the periods with which they deal. As a rule, literary merit is wanting: though frequently animated by a certain rough vigor most of them are crude and halting in structure.

The editor's account of the rise and fall of this form of literature, if such it can be called, is interesting. The ballads begin to be numerous and important in the reign of Elizabeth. Strangely enough, some of the most famous originated in the time of Charles I., a period so barren in naval achievements; while on the other hand, owing to a rigid censorship, the glorious period of the Commonwealth and the Protectorate is scarcely represented. Toward the middle of the eighteenth century sea-songs of a more polished and sentimental character appear written for shore-folk, for the theatre and drawing-room. In the nineteenth century with the increasing use of the newspaper and the advent of the music-hall melody the street ballad gradually became extinct. Many special points might be noted, if space permitted, about well-known popular songs; for instance the original version of *Hearts of Oak* is printed (p. 220), and there is an interesting comment in *The Red, White and Blue* (pp. cxii–cxiii). The volume is well equipped with explanatory notes and indexes.

A. L. C.

Seventeenth Century Men of Latitude: Forerunners of the New Theology. By Edward Augustus George. (New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1908, pp. xix, 199.) The writer of this little book informs us that at intervals during more than ten years it has been his privilege "to refresh his spirit by communion with these worthies of an earlier time", that his "aim is to present not what some one says about these men, but what they say themselves", and that "the description of the men, their appearance, characteristics, and features have been gathered for the most part from contemporaries who saw them and knew them."

A brief general introduction entitled Men of Latitude in a Century of Narrowness brings out excellently the leading characteristics of Anglicanism and Puritanism; but in his references to the general history of the period Mr. George is not always quite so successful. The bulk of the work consists of sketches of eight leading latitudinarians: John Hales, William Chillingworth, Benjamin Whichcote, John Smith,

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Henry More, Jeremy Taylor, Sir Thomas Browne and Richard Baxter. One wonders why in a list of this length Lord Falkland and Ralph Cudworth were not included. Each sketch is divided into two parts. One deals with the events in the life and the character of the man selected, the other with his writings. The biographical outlines present little more than has already been said about the men in question. The parts on their writings consist largely of rather well-chosen excerpts accompanied by glowingly appreciative comments by Mr. George. It is good to have such wise, beautiful thoughts brought together in accessible form, yet the reader will not find much in the way of searching critical estimate or any broad, comprehensive treatment of the subject. The style is pleasant, at times charming, though the effect is marred by occasional repetition within an interval of a few pages. For instance, one finds that the Solemn League and Covenant is "the palladium of militant puritanism" and "the palladium of triumphant presbyterianism". The seven portraits are a valuable addition. While not a contribution to scholarship, the general reader may find this little labor of love a helpful supplement to the closely-packed article on latitudinarianism and Cambridge Platonism in volume V. of the *Cambridge Modern History.*

A. L. C.

La Correspondance de Marat. Recueillie et annotée par Charles Vellay. [L'Élite de la Révolution.] (Paris, Eugène Fasquelle, 1908, pp. xxiii, 291, 16.) It is surprising that so few of Marat's letters have been preserved. M. Vellay offers no satisfactory explanation of this. He refers to the seizure of Marat's papers in January, 1790, and again in February, 1795, but these acts would have tended to preserve rather than destroy his letters, as happened in other cases during the Revolution. The collection would have been still smaller had M. Vellay not included letters of the Revolutionary period which bear every appearance of having been newspaper articles in the form of letters. He believes he has succeeded in excluding such letters, but his criteria for deciding whether a letter printed in *L'Ami du Peuple* or *Le Journal de la République Française* is a private or an open letter will not satisfy all his readers. The letters to Lafayette and to Camille Desmoulins, for example, written in April and May, 1791, seem addressed primarily to Marat's subscribers. The fact that he may have sent written copies to Lafayette and to Desmoulins does not change the character of the letters as in reality newspaper articles. The letters of the pre-Revolutionary period are as evidently of a private nature. M. Vellay has gathered them from various sources, which he has indicated in each case. A few of them are *inédites,* but most have been published, although in reviews or journals which are inaccessible except in the largest libraries. These earlier letters show incidentally that Marat's revolutionary and levelling zeal was a late acquirement. There is a

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

letter in which he attempts to prove his noble extraction, and another in which he poses as the staunch defender of religion and the established régime, accusing the philosophers of scheming "détruire tous les ordres religieux", "d'agiter les gouvernements, de bouleverser les États". They show also that Marat's malady of insane and impudent egotism, rendered sinister by suspicion, was of early beginnings. It appears in the long letter, of November 20, 1783, recounting his troubles with the Academy of Sciences. M. Vellay, a believer in Marat's greatness and ardent love of liberty, takes these outbursts to be the protests of a wronged and wounded spirit. In his notes to individual letters he is inclined to accept Marat's statements as not requiring critical investigation. For example, in the libel uttered against M. Joly, member of the Paris municipality, he remarks that the statements were exact, and that Marat was mistaken simply as to the man. This affirmation is taken from Marat's own explanatory letter. As a matter of fact Marat's accusation has all the appearance of a mendacious libel, and is unsupported by such evidence as still exists in regard to the acts of the Paris municipality during the troubled summer of 1789.

H. E. Bourne.

Bonaparte and the Consulate. By A. C. Thibaudeau. Translated and edited by G. K. Fortescue, LL.D. (New York, The Macmillan Company, 1908, pp. xlviii, 317.) Though Thibaudeau began his career as an *avocat* under the Ancien Régime and ended it as a senator under the Second Empire, he reached his zenith during the Consulate, when Bonaparte appointed him, successively, prefect of the Gironde, March 3, 1800; councillor of state, section of legislation, September 22, 1800; and prefect of the Bouches-du-Rhône, April 23, 1803. His work as an historian began during the Terror and culminated under Louis Philippe in the ten volumes of *Le Consulat et l'Empire.*

While in exile at Brussels, Thibaudeau published three volumes of his memoirs, covering the Convention, the Directory and the Consulate. The police of Charles X. permitted the publication of only a portion of the manuscript of the first two volumes, but the disciplined Thibaudeau alone was responsible for the denatured and anonymous third volume which Dr. Fortescue has translated. Considering the number and popularity of the military memoirs of the Napoleonic era, it is well that this rare old volume has been reproduced, for it deals exclusively with the civil side of Bonaparte's career during the period of his greatest administrative activity, the period of the Concordat and the Civil Code.

It is surprising to find that such a scholar as Dr. Fortescue has taken remarkable liberties with Thibaudeau's text, which has been so freely rearranged that it is difficult to locate passages. Twenty chapters in the original have been telescoped into fifteen. Thibaudeau's paragraphing has been unnecessarily and totally ignored, even to the dividing asunder of sentences. Phrases and even longer passages of the original

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

have disappeared, and elsewhere new ones have been introduced. In spite of these extensive changes of form, the content of the original has not suffered materially. In the supply of editorial apparatus, Dr. Fortescue has fully performed his task, though more careful proof-reading would have removed many blemishes, and though the introduction suffers from the expression of debatable personal opinions.

This volume will give the general reader a good insight into the administrative génius of Bonaparte, but the student will consult the original edition. A competent French edition of all three volumes would be welcome, especially if Thibaudeau's manuscripts were employed in its production.

GEORGE M. DUTCHER.

Lettres d'"Aristocrates": la Révolution Racontée par des Correspondances Privées, 1789–1794. Par Pierre de Vaissière. (Paris, Perrin et Cie., 1907, pp. xxxviii, 626.) Private letters which reveal direct impressions of important events are always interesting, and sometimes offer more trustworthy and suggestive evidence than other historical documents. This is true of the five hundred letters selected by M. de Vaissière from the correspondence of thirty-five "aristocrates", men and women, in most cases, of the minor nobility. They do not embody the criticisms made familiar by anti-Revolutionary pamphleteers and their literary successors. They simply show how the incidents or the changes of the Revolution affected the experience or the opinions of persons of a certain type. Intended only for the eye of a member of the writer's family or of some other intimate friend, they possess the note of sincerity that belongs to such correspondence. M. de Vaissière has chosen them from about five thousand letters which he has examined in the various *fonds* of the National Archives, the *fonds du séquestre,* of the Revolutionary Tribunal, of the general police and of the different committees like the Comité des Recherches of the Constituent. Most of them belong to the period prior to August 10. With few exceptions they were written from Paris or from some other French town in the midst of the events to which they refer. There are a few letters of *émigrés,* but these describe what may be called the process of emigration, the questionings of mind which preceded the resolution to *partir,* the hazards of the enterprise, the disillusionments of the first months beyond the frontier. M. de Vaissière examined these letters in the course of his studies on the old nobility of France, and they have a value in any appreciation of its attitude towards the Revolution or of its misfortunes. But they have another use, of a more special character. They call attention to features of events or situations which might escape notice unless one possessed such illustrations of the consequences of the application of the Revolutionary legislation. This is particularly true of the monetary legislation; the letters furnishing some curious examples of the practical difficulties which resulted from the issue of

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

assignats in large denominations, their depreciation and the attendant dearth of coin. Very instructive also are the letters which display the situation of pious Catholics in the spring of 1791, when the Civil Constitution of the Clergy was enforced rigorously. It should be added that M. de Vaissière has done a thorough piece of work as editor.

H. E. Bourne.

National and Social Problems. By Frederic Harrison. (New York, The Macmillan Company, 1908, pp. xxxi, 450.) This most recent volume of Mr. Frederic Harrison's consists of various papers and addresses which he has rescued from the oblivion of records of societies and of old periodicals. The earliest of the essays, the Making of Italy, is dated 1860, and the most recent, that on Martial Law in South Africa during the Boer War, 1901. Some of the essays, notably that on Egypt, it must have required some courage to reprint, the pessimism of the forecasts has been so far from being justified by later developments. Nor is Mr. Harrison afraid of the charge of inconsistency which might be brought against him when he reprints his fierce philippics against all the wars undertaken by England in defense or extension of her foreign empire, and his acquiescence in, if not approval of, the part taken by Italy in the Crimean War, where the attack on Russia by Italy could find no justification whatever, except as a political expedient to gain the favor of France and England. Whether or not the resuscitation of Mr. Harrison's polemics against England's foreign policy in the last quarter of the nineteenth century was worth while, a permanent value certainly attached to the second part of the volume. This deals with social problems such as labor, trade-unionism, co-operation, and socialism, and though the first two articles—on the Limits of Political Economy and on Trade Unionism—are dated 1865, these subjects are treated with such clear-sighted, incisive criticism, and with such an abiding zeal for truth and righteousness, that in spite of all the changes that the last forty years have brought about, the essays are of almost as much value now as when they were written. Frederic Harrison has been a life-long advocate of the claims of labor, and of a system of socialism which he conceives to be a logical deduction from the philosophy of Auguste Comte of whom he is the most eminent disciple. The many wild and visionary schemes of socialism which in the last sixty years have been reached in England and America by revolutionaries and visionaires have had, however, no keener nor more destructive critic than Mr. Harrison. In one of these essays, Social Remedies, 1885, he tears to pieces the panacea of land nationalization and the single tax which was then being preached by Henry George. In another he shows the limitations and shortcomings of co-operation as a scheme of social reform, useful and excellent as he believed the movement to be. And yet Mr. Harrison avows himself a socialist. He has always stood in opposition to the school of *laissez-faire,* and has advocated the legalization of trade-unions and the extension of legal

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

protection to workers—adult men, as well as women and children—under the factory acts. Probably to Mr. Harrison, as a thinker and critic, more than to any other single man, England owes the fact that, rejecting all wild and revolutionary socialistic theories—however logical—she has proceeded sanely and tentatively on a path of social legislation which is gradually emancipating the working classes from the serfdom which was their inheritance from feudalism.

A. G. P.

The fourth volume of *Critical Miscellanies* by John Morley (Macmillan, 1908, pp. 341) contains the Romanes lecture on Machiavelli delivered in 1897, with an appendix of notes; an essay on Guicciardini, as observer of the art of governing men and as historian; a glowing tribute to John Stuart Mill, first published in 1906 on the centenary of Mill's birth; an important review of Lecky's *Democracy and Liberty* (1896), correcting alleged errors in some of Lecky's statements concerning contemporary political events; reviews of two books by Frederic Harrison—*The New Calendar of Great Men* and *Theophano: the Crusade of the Tenth Century*; and a brilliant paper on Democracy and Reaction, reviewing a work of the same title by L. T. Hobhouse. The volume has a higher degree of unity than might at first be supposed. Not only are all the papers more or less concerned with both history and politics, but, with a single exception, each includes some discussion of the fundamental problem of the applicability of the standards of personal morality to the acts of the state. This problem is dealt with most fully in the essays on Machiavelli and on Democracy and Reaction. In the former, the political theories of Machiavelli are examined and their historical basis set forth. "In one sense we are shocked by [Machiavelli's] maxims in proportion to our forgetfulness of history." On the other hand Morley argues that the modern tendency is to regard the state as subject to a moral code. The essay on Democracy and Reaction includes discussions of the meaning of imperialism regarded as a modern form of Machiavellianism, the meaning of democracy and its moral bearing, the relation of democracy to liberalism and to progress, the history of liberalism and its relation to socialism. The volume is commended to those who enjoy a literary style of the highest excellence, allusive yet never obscure, deep reflection enriched by wide literary knowledge and rendered precise by personal experience in governmental affairs, fair-minded treatment of opposing views, and a vindication of political idealism.

A Catalogue of Books relating to the Discovery and Early History of North and South America, forming a Part of the Library of E. Dwight Church. In five volumes. Compiled and annotated by George Watson Cole. (New York, Dodd, Mead and Company, 1907, pp. 2635.) It is nothing short of marvellous that after all the collecting of Americana that has been done Mr. Church should have been able to accumulate

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

such a collection as that described in these sumptuous volumes. No doubt the collection is the finest of its kind now in private hands, and in many particulars it comes into serious rivalry with the John Carter Brown Library, the Lenox Library and the Library of Congress. The catalogue, for its part, is the best-made catalogue of Americana, of any such magnitude, that has ever been executed. It lists nearly fourteen hundred books, of which all but ninety are of earlier date than 1801. The number of these books that are customarily described as "excessively rare" is astonishing. The catalogue not only describes each work fully and exactly, with frequent facsimiles, but appends notes so valuable and interesting as to make it a work of reference of extraordinarily high value for historical workers. A feature of especial utility is the location of other copies of these books to be found in about fifty of the principal libraries of this country. The edition of the *Catalogue* is limited to 150 copies, sold at the price of $175 a set.

Twenty-Sixth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology (1904–1905). By W. H. Holmes, chief. Accompanying Papers: *The Pima Indians.* By Frank Russell. *Social Conditions, Beliefs and Linguistic Relationship of the Tlingit Indians.* By John R. Swanton. (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1908, pp. xxxi, 512.) The *Report* outlines the work which occupied the Bureau during the year 1904–1905, principally the investigations of Dr. J. W. Fewkes in Mexico, those of Mrs. M. C. Stevenson among the Zuñi tribe and the Santa Clara Indians, those of Dr. Aleš Hrdlička among the Apache and Pima tribes, and those of Dr. J. R. Swanton among the Tlingit Indians. The Bureau is also completing, under the supervision of Mr. F. W. Hodge, the *Handbook of American Indians.* Mr. Russell's paper is the outcome of a study, during several months in 1901 and 1902, of the Pima tribe on the Gila River reservation in Southern Arizona. Fifty out of the 389 pages of the paper are devoted to an historical account of the tribe, an interesting feature of which is the chronological records (1833 to 1902) as "told" from notched calendared sticks. The larger portion of the study is concerned with the industrial, social and religious life of the Pimas. A large and interesting collection of myths, nursery tales and songs of various kinds has been gathered, as also a number of speeches.

Dr. Swanton, in his study of the Tlingit Indians, who occupy the "pan-handle" of Alaska, gives little attention to the arts, industries and quest for food, because these have been treated very fully in the work of Krause (*Die Tlinkit Indianer,* Jena, 1885). The present paper is devoted mainly to social customs, religious beliefs and a comparative study of the Tlingit and Haida languages. The conclusion is reached that, while the two peoples have long lived apart and have been subjected to very different influences, their ancestors spoke one tongue. Each of the foregoing papers is richly illustrated.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Publications of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts. Volume X. *Transactions, 1904–1906.* (Boston, 1907, pp. xx, 476.) This volume embraces the proceedings of the society from December, 1904, to November, 1906. Some of the papers and many of the documents contained in the volume are of a purely local character, but there are also several papers of more general interest. Mr. Andrew McFarland Davis has valuable papers on the Limitation of Prices in Massachusetts, 1776–1779, and on the Beginnings of Stock Speculation. Mr. William C. Lane contributes a paper on the Rebellion of 1766 in Harvard College. Of especial value are the remarks of Mr. Albert Matthews on the proper editing of old documents and books. Some interesting documents relating to the witchcraft episode in Massachusetts are printed, and there is a facsimile reproduction of the recently discovered election sermon preached by John Davenport in 1669. The meeting of the society for January, 1906, was devoted to a commemoration of the bicentennial of the birth of Benjamin Franklin, and some interesting material regarding Franklin was presented, especially that with reference to his relations with Harvard College.

Early New England Towns: a Comparative Study of their Development, by Anne Bush MacLear, Ph.D. [Studies in History, Economics and Public Law, edited by the Faculty of Political Science of Columbia University. Volume XXIX., No. 1.] (New York, Columbia University, 1908, pp. 181.) More exactly, this is a comparative study of the early development of five Massachusetts towns—Salem, Dorchester, Watertown, Roxbury and Cambridge. It is not made entirely plain why these five were selected. They were distinctly not typical in respect to origin, and not wholly so in other respects. Under six headings—courts, finances, lands, government, church, and schools—the institutions of these towns, institutions of a form now pretty familiar to historical readers, are once more described with patient care, and with abundant illustrative citations, but without much insight and with hardly a glance outside the boundaries of the five towns selected. Within the chosen limits of the monograph, however, a useful array of facts is brought together in an orderly manner. No attempt is made to touch the problem of transatlantic origins.

Collections of the Connecticut Historical Society. Volume XI. (Hartford, Published by the Society, 1907, pp. xxxv, 391.) When in 1892 and 1896, the Connecticut Historical Society issued in volumes IV. and V. of its *Collections* the papers of Governor Talcott, it was understood that the papers of Talcott's successor, Law, would be taken up in good time. After a lapse of twelve years, during which the society has been issuing volumes of a military and genealogical character, designed to satisfy local interests, the promise has been fulfilled, and the first of two volumes covering Law's administration from 1741

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

to 1750 has been issued. Volume XI. is, therefore, the logical successor of volumes IV. and V. The subject-matter of this volume is much the same as that contained in the *Talcott Papers,* the intestacy case, the Mohegan controversy, boundary disputes, the New Lights, bills of credit, and, on the military side, instead of the Carthagena expedition, the expedition to Louisburg. Taken as a whole the collection is probably less valuable and complete than is that which concerned the previous administration, but it is none the less of importance and interest.

The intestacy trouble was revived in 1742, in the appeal of Clark *vs.* Tousey, and Law showed considerable shrewdness in deciding to shift the ground of defense and to compel the appellant to prove that the common law extended to the colonies instead of attempting to defend the intestacy law which had been judged contrary to the law of England. He was fortunate in obtaining the services of John Sharpe, brother of Governor Sharpe of Maryland and Solicitor of the Treasury from 1742 to 1756. Sharpe was a very able solicitor, and Bourryau, partner of Francis Wilks, Connecticut's agent, was probably right in deeming him "the ablest man in his profession". The issue might have been different had he had charge of the case in 1727. As it was he had no chance to show his skill, for Clark's petition was dismissed and the case never came to trial. The Mohegan controversy here drags on its weary way. The editor, Mr. Bates, prints the decree of the commissioners of review of 1743, reversing the decree of 1705. The later history of the case is obscure. No new commission of enquiry or review was ever issued, so far as I know, and the later interest chiefly centres in the attempts of the Masons to obtain compensation from the British Treasury. Samuel Mason sent in at least two memorials between 1750 and 1756 and the matter was referred to the Treasury Solicitor, who reported on it, June 4, 1756, and among whose papers are many documents connected with the case. John Mason petitioned twice in 1768, and in 1769 Moses Park, as agent for the Indians, petitioned for additional allowances. Apparently the Masons deemed the case against the colony hopeless, for on March 15, 1773, John Mason, in behalf of Uncas and his fellow Mohegans, appealed to the Privy Council for a grant of land on the Ohio, offering to remove the tribe thither. I do not know what action the Privy Council took on the petition, but nothing further appears to have been done in the matter.

C. M. A.

The Witchcraft Delusion in Colonial Connecticut, 1647–1697. By John M. Taylor. [The Grafton Historical Series, edited by Henry R. Stiles, A.M., M.D.] (New York, The Grafton Press, 1908, pp. xv, 172.) To careful students of the early history of Connecticut it has long been known that her once boasted innocence of the persecution of witches was an illusion; and in these later years the documents and entries, long

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

secreted or obscured by family and local pride, which have been coming singly or in groups to light, have put the matter out of controversy. But it is a satisfaction to have now, in a series under the editorial care of a veteran mouser in Connecticut records, and from the pen of a Connecticut scholar, a volume on the subject. It is but a modest volume: a few pages on witchcraft in general, with a glance at the Salem panic, then a hundred of extracts from Connecticut witch-trials, selected at random for their interest, their order not even chronological, and at end "a record of the men and women who came under suspicion or accusation of witchcraft in Connecticut, and what befell them". Thirty-six of them he reckons, all told, from Alse Young, in 1647, to Sarah Spencer, in 1724—for his Bristol episode of 1768 involved no indictment or thought of one—of whom eleven seem to have been put to death. It is still short of the tale of the sister colony, and the sane advice of the Connecticut ministers in 1692 offers yet sounder reason for pride, were not Mr. Taylor wisely above it. A fuller publication of the records he is content to leave to some future "accurate and complete history of the beginnings of the commonwealth", but he tells us where these records may be found, and thus earns the hearty thanks of later workers. His book shows marks of haste, especially in the somewhat chaotic and inaccurate opening chapters, and one may be permitted to suspect some errors in his transcripts and even a possible incompleteness in his roll of witches, but, such as it is, the little volume is most welcome.

GEORGE L. BURR.

Van Rensselaer Bowier Manuscripts, being the Letters of Kiliaen van Rensselaer, 1630–1643, and other Documents relating to the Colony of Rensselaerswyck. Translated and edited by A. J. F. van Laer, Archivist. (Albany, University of the State of New York, 1908, pp. 909.) John Romeyn Brodhead, that most excellent searcher, than whom no American government ever had a better record agent, explored the public archives of the Netherlands so thoroughly for New Netherland materials, sixty years ago, that all the intervening years have brought to light little of consequence. He left the state not much to do in this field but to translate his rich spoils, which it did, badly enough, and to publish them. It was always possible that there remained valuable stores of material among the papers of private families in the Netherlands. The new era in the management of archival and historical matters at Albany is well signalized by the publication of what must surely be, in view of the Rensselaer patroonship, the most important of such hoards. Preserved for generations by the Amsterdam branch of the family, happy accidents brought it to the attention of the New York authorities when it was in danger of loss. It embraces the first patroon's letter-book to 1643, many letters to him, copies of legal and commercial papers of his time, and subsequent documents extending throughout the Dutch period of the colony. They throw a flood of light on all the events and conditions

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of the chief patroonship and of a most interesting settlement and form of local government. They likewise add considerably to our knowledge of the history of the province. The volume also contains translations of articles on Kiliaen van Rensselaer and his colony, by the late Mr. de Roever, archivist of Amsterdam, a careful list of settlers, and an interesting map made about 1632. Mr. van Laer's editing is of the very highest type, exhibiting excellent general scholarship, detailed and exact knowledge of the particular subject, and sound judgment. At the beginning of the book he prints a translation of the charter of the Dutch West India Company and its amplifications and of the Freedoms and Exemptions of 1629. Strange to say, these are the first correct translations of these documents ever printed; and they are of such unusual excellence as to inspire our confidence in the translations of the Van Rensselaer Bowier manuscripts which follow and in which we cannot make the comparison with the original. The state of New York is greatly to be congratulated that such tasks are now in such hands.

Documents relating to the Colonial History of the State of New Jersey. Edited by William Nelson. [Archives of the State of New Jersey, First Series, Volume XXVII.] *Extracts from American Newspapers, relating to New Jersey.* Volume VIII., 1770–1771. (Paterson, N. J., 1905, pp. xii, 713.) This volume possesses the same general characteristics, the same quality of good workmanship that has characterized its predecessors, and, like its predecessors, makes manifest through these newspaper extracts many phases of the social and industrial life of the time. A rapid survey of the pages is likely to give the impression that newspapers existed mainly for the purpose of advertising property for sale, and for runaway slaves or servants. The proportion of such notices is large; and sometimes slaves are advertised for sale, though such instances are not, perhaps, unduly numerous. Now and then, indeed, we get a glimpse of the intellectual, as for instance, when Thomas Moody, "philomathematicus, from Hibernia", "would be willing to accept a professorship in some seminary of learning, if he could meet with proper encouragement". But there is also food for the student of political history. There are proclamations of the governor announcing allowances and disallowances by the crown of legislative enactments; several addresses to the governor from Council or House and the governor's replies. Of still greater moment are several series of resolutions in favor of the Non-Importation Agreement, together with numerous and severe denunciations of the people of New York for their defection from the Agreement. There are occasional biographical notes by the editor, and there is also a good index to the volume.

Documents relating to the Revolutionary History of the State of New Jersey. Edited by William Nelson. [Archives of the State of New Jersey, Second Series, Volume III.] *Extracts from American News-*

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

papers relating to New Jersey. Volume III., 1779. (Trenton, N. J., 1906, pp. xi, 786.) This volume is particularly noteworthy for the material which it contains bearing upon the progress of the Revolution. As New Jersey was the principal field of military operations there are, naturally, many news-items concerning engagements and the movement of troops, as also many military orders and official announcements. Numerous extracts from the Royalist press give us a view of the other side of the struggle. We discover too that the loyalists in New Jersey were not an inconsiderable body. The frequent notices of robberies and advertisements of rewards for stolen property are to be expected; but from another class of advertisements, also numerous, it would seem that even if horses were frequently stolen horse-raising was profitable. Political and economic questions are also agitating the Jersey mind. There are long and frequent discussions of the state of the country in general and of the depreciation of the currency in particular, by "A True Patriot" and others, including Governor Livingston. In the opinion of "A True Patriot", however, not all the ills are due to depreciated currency. Much and often he bewails the general decay of public spirit, patriotism and the social virtues. Along with "Timoleon" he makes an attack upon the conduct of Azariah Dunham of the commissary department, and even hurls his criticisms at the Continental Congress. There are numerous annotations in the volume, mainly biographical, and an index occupying sixty pages.

The Old Dominion: Her Making and Her Manners. By Thomas Nelson Page. (New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1908, pp. x, 394.) This is a collection of the by-products of a literateur. It is made up of nine chapters with the following titles: The Beginning of America; Jamestown, Birthplace of the American People; Colonial Life; the Revolutionary Movement; Jefferson and the University of Virginia; the Southern People during Reconstruction; the Old Dominion since the War; an Old Neighborhood in Virginia; and the Old Virginia Sunday. Most of these chapters were delivered as addresses and there is therefore no unity or systematic connection between the parts of the book.

Mr. Page is confessedly an artist who looks with contempt upon the scientific historian, as latter day students of history have been called (p. 46). It is therefore with some trepidation that the present writer undertakes to estimate the value of his book. One thing is evident: that historically nothing new or fresh has been attempted. Even the point of view is nowise novel. In fact it is traditional Virginia which is described—colonial lords and ladies, or close imitators: the gentleman, who would have answered to a description of a Walpole Tory fox-hunter; the unfortunate class who have not the right to the title gentleman; and the negro, appear each in his accustomed place. The Revolution with all its bitterness, class hatred and shrewd political

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

manœuvres is pictured to us, but nowhere a note of disagreement or of strife. To Mr. Page all was friendly, though formal, beruffled, sweet-scented, genial, happy. The idea that Patrick Henry, of Mr. Page's own county, packed a jury to win a questionable fight would completely upset our author's equilibrium.

Reconstruction in the South was bad enough, as all the world knows; its picture on the pages of our history is but a black daub. Mr. Page simply throws another bottle of ink upon the spot. The story of Virginia's rise from the ruin of 1865 is conventional; but the chapters An Old Virginia Neighborhood and an Old Virginia Sunday are worthy of Mr. Page's better days. They portray social conditions and country life in Virginia in a thoroughly interesting way, but for the too frequent rose-water baths to which the author treats our writers and our institutions. The historically-minded reader will nevertheless know how to discriminate.

A note which runs through all Mr. Page has ever written is evident here also: the judgment and the language are too frequently those of one who supposes character to be absolutely determined by status. All heroic characters are gentlemen; the villains are outside the charmed circle. This is not life; it is not even ante-bellum Virginia life.

WILLIAM E. DODD.

The Revolution on the Upper Ohio, 1775–1777. Draper Series, Volume II. Edited by Reuben Gold Thwaites, LL.D., and Louise Phelps Kellogg, Ph.D. (Madison, Wisconsin Historical Society, 1908, pp. xx, 275.) This is a volume compiled largely from the Draper Manuscripts in the Library of the Wisconsin Historical Society and published at the expense of the Society of the Sons of the American Revolution of that state. It is, as we are informed, the first of two volumes, both bearing upon the conduct of the Revolutionary War on the Upper Ohio River, 1775–1776. The events herein chronicled follow so closely upon those of Lord Dunmore's War in 1774 that they are inseparably connected with them. Hostilities between the Virginia—now West Virginia—frontiersmen and the united Indian nations of the Ohio wilderness began in the early part of this year. Tidings of bloodshed on the border of civilization were borne to Williamsburg, and Lord Dunmore ordered General Andrew Lewis to collect fifteen hundred men in Augusta County and adjacent territory, and proceed to the mouth of the Great Kanawha River, the object being the invasion of the Indian country northwest of the Ohio. Crossing the Blue Ridge to the Shenandoah Valley and establishing his headquarters at "Greenway Court", Dunmore mustered there a force of about twelve hundred men and proceeded to the Indian towns on the Scioto. Here he was joined by the division under General Lewis who had defeated the Indians at the mouth of the Great Kanawha, October 10, 1774, in the most fiercely contested battle ever waged with them in the valley of

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the Ohio. The treaty of Camp Charlotte followed; the terms discussed and partially agreed upon were largely provisional, their confirmation being deferred for the final action of a council or conference to be held at Pittsburgh the following year, and which he promised to attend. But in the spring of 1775 the American Revolutionary movement had gained such force in Virginia that Dunmore could not do this. The members of the Virginia Convention saw the necessity of completing the treaty with the Indians, and appointed commissioners for the purpose. In the ensuing September there assembled at Pittsburgh the largest delegation of Indians ever seen at that frontier post. The Virginia commissioners were there; so were James Wilson, Lewis Morris and Dr. Thomas Walker, representing the Continental Congress, Dr. Walker appearing for both the Congress and the colony. The council assembled on September 15 and continued until October 21. Considered in connection with the preliminary treaty at Camp Charlotte, it was, with perhaps the exception of that at Fort Stanwix seven years before, the most important conference ever held by white men with Indians in America. Long have students of the history of the border wars desired information as to the action of the conference. Happily the full text of the proceedings is printed now for the first time in this volume; one hundred and two pages are covered thereby, and the whole will be read with much interest. This document of itself throws much light upon the events attending the Indian Wars during the Revolution; but this volume contains much other valuable material relating to events on the Upper Ohio in these years, including important letters of Colonel William Preston, Captain William Russell, Colonel William Fleming, Colonel James Wood, Colonel John Stuart, Captain Mathew Arbuckle, Colonel William Crawford and Captain William Harrod. There is a facsimile of a map containing sketches of the valleys of the Muskingum and Scioto rivers, and of that of Big Beaver Creek; and nine portraits of white men and Indians. Much credit is due the editors for the excellent compilation of these documents, and to the Wisconsin Society of the Sons of the American Revolution, whose liberality made the publication of the volume possible.

VIRGIL A. LEWIS.

The Cherokee Indians. By Thomas Valentine Parker, Ph.D. [The Grafton Historical Series, edited by Henry R. Stiles, A.M., M.D.] (New York, The Grafton Press, 1907, pp. viii, 116.) Although in the history of a nation no subject is of more abiding interest than the treatment of a subject race, very little is authoritatively known of the political relations that have existed between the United States government and the various tribes of Indians. Recognizing this fact, Dr. Parker has made a special and very commendable study of the Cherokees; but he has, unfortunately, carried his plan of excluding other tribes from consideration a little too far, for he has ignored even those

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

whose history has always been closely interwoven with that of the Cherokees.

His story is based, almost entirely, upon *printed official* sources which happen, with reference to this particular tribe, to be very abundant, since its affairs were constantly the occasion of Congressional investigation. Had it been otherwise, Dr. Parker would hardly have dared to pass unnoticed the manuscript records of the Indian Office. His text is often only a summary of the contents of treaties, and it rarely goes behind a treaty to the details of its negotiation. An exception may be found in the case of the Treaty of New Echota and there, by the way, we find the author's best synoptical work.

Beginning with the fifth chapter, Dr. Parker gives us a most interesting and unprejudiced narrative of Cherokee history in the West, covering the dissensions that arose between the earlier and later immigrants, the divided attitude towards the Civil War, the reconstruction principles of the Treaty of 1866, and, finally, the events that led to the opening of Oklahoma. The rhetorical form of the latter part of the book is seriously affected by the insertion of extraneous material, the subject-matter proper being very much condensed. On the whole, however, the work is worthy of very favorable comment. It is practically free from historical errors, and those that do occur are of slight importance, such, for instance, as the one on page 13 where J. Q. Adams has been confounded with Monroe. The book is a fair illustration of what ought to be done for every Indian tribe within the limits of the United States.

ANNIE HELOISE ABEL.

Amana: the Community of True Inspiration. By Bertha M. H. Shambaugh. (Iowa City, The State Historical Society of Iowa, 1908, pp. 414.) The origin of the Community of True Inspiration, Mrs. Shambaugh tells us, is to be traced to the German mystics and pietists of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, though as a distinct sect it dates from 1714, with the writings and teachings of Eberhard Ludwig Gruber and Johann Friedrich Rock. After the deaths of Gruber and Rock the Community went into decline for nearly a century, when there was a reawakening, mainly through the work of Barbara Heinemann and Christian Metz. In 1842 the greater portion of the Inspirationists came to America, settled for a few years near Buffalo, then removed to Iowa, where the Community now owns some twenty-six thousand acres of land and occupies seven villages. Amana ("believe faithfully") is the name given to the present seat of the Community, not to the Community itself. While Amana is conducted on a communistic basis communism is not an essential tenet of the Community of True Inspiration; its concern is spiritual. "Born of religious enthusiasm and disciplined by persecution, it has ever remained primarily a church." Throughout its history it has been "dominated by an ideal

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

and a determined purpose to realize that ideal". "The fundamental doctrine", says Mrs. Shambaugh, "upon which the Community is founded is that divine inspiration and revelation are just as real and potent to-day as in the time of Moses." Mrs. Shambaugh sketches briefly the European history of the Community, gives somewhat minutely its American history, and describes its social and religious institutions. During eighteen years Mrs. Shambaugh has been a frequent guest among the Inspirationists, has had access to the abundant records of their life and history, and has given an extraordinarily interesting account of the life of this unique group. The work is enriched with many extracts in translation from the writings of their *Werkzeuge* and from the Community's records. An appendix contains the constitution and by-laws of the Amana Society, and there are abundant scholarly annotations.

Estudio sobre las Ideas Políticas de José Antonio Saco. Por Luis M. Pérez. (Havana, Imp. Avisador Comercial, 1908, pp. 71.) José Antonio Saco lived through most of the momentous political developments in Spanish America in the nineteenth century, for he was born in Bayamo, in the province of Santiago de Cuba, in 1797, and died in Barcelona in 1879. Saco was in virtual exile during much of his life, but whether in Cuba, in the United States or in Spain, his pen was busy upon the vital problems of the life and future of his native island. Mr. Pérez discovers five distinct periods in the life of Saco and consequently in the product of his pen. But without following the writer's analysis rigidly and using some compression it may be said that up to 1848 Saco was advocating a more liberal scheme of government for Cuba, the suppression of the slave traffic, and the development of the white population. From 1848 to 1853 he was combatting the idea of annexation to the United States; and from 1854 to 1868 he was insisting that Spain grant Cuba certain indispensable reforms: "Ó España concede á Cuba derechos politicos, ó Cuba se pierde para España." Independence he did not, however, advocate, for that way led to annexation; but only such an autonomous form of government as would satisfy the Cuban national feeling. The author of this monograph disclaims that his study is critical or profound, nevertheless in presenting in this compact form the ideas of a fellow-countryman which are notably interwoven with near three-quarters of a century of Cuban history he has done a good service.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

TEXT-BOOKS

A Source Book of Mediaeval History. Documents Illustrative of European Life and Institutions from the German Invasion to the Renaissance. Edited by FREDERIC AUSTIN OGG, M.A., Assistant in History in Harvard University and Instructor in Simmons College. (New York: American Book Company. 1908. Pp. 504.)

THE editor of this collection of documents has sought to produce a source-book for medieval history "clearly adapted to practical conditions of work" in elementary college classes, academies and preparatory schools, and the more advanced years of the average high school. Further, he has tried to attain his object by giving the book several distinctive features.

Some of these features relate to the choice of extracts. "In all cases the materials presented should be of real value"; accordingly few pieces appear that are not already accessible in other collections, but those deemed most significant are brought together between two covers. "For the sake of younger students, a relatively large proportion of narrative . . . should be introduced"; so strictly documentary matter is subordinated. "Despite this principle, documents of vital importance . . . should be presented with some fulness"; hence parts of such pieces as the Benedictine Rule, the Great Charter and the Golden Bull are included. "In general, the rule should be to give longer passages from fewer sources, rather than more fragmentary ones from a wider range"; so the writings and documents drawn upon number less than a hundred.

Other distinctive features aimed at relate to the manner of presenting the selections. Since literal translations of medieval writings "are as a rule positively repellent to the young mind", the translations given here are put in language as simple and modern "as close adherence to the sense will permit". Also, much labor has evidently been given "to provide each selection, or group of selections, with an introductory explanation, containing the historical setting of the extract, with perhaps some comment on its general significance, and also a brief sketch of the writer". It is unfortunate—to the reviewer's mind—that these introductions are like an encyclopedia; too uniformly they have the air rather of giving information than of setting forth conditions and circumstances that presented a problem. Finally, there are numerous foot-notes, giving "somewhat detailed aid to the understanding of obscure allusions, omitted passages, and especially place names and technical terms".

Thus this new source-book has characteristics which distinguish it from other available collections. Besides, in scholarship it compares favorably with the best among the others—not always accurate, but as a rule reasonably trustworthy. All told, it should prove a useful addition to our apparatus for the teaching of history.

E. W. Dow.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Development of Modern Europe: an Introduction to the Study of Current History. In two volumes. By JAMES HARVEY ROBINSON, Professor of History in Columbia University, and CHARLES A. BEARD, Adjunct Professor of Politics in Columbia University. (Boston and London: Ginn and Company. 1907. Pp. xi, 362; vii, 448.)

THE keynote of these two volumes is struck in the preface. "It has been a common defect of our historical manuals that, however satisfactorily they have dealt with more or less remote periods, they have ordinarily failed to connect the past with the present. And teachers still pay a mysterious respect to the memory of Datis and Artaphernes which they deny to gentlemen in frock coats, like Gladstone and Gambetta. . . . In preparing the volume in hand, the writers have consistently subordinated the past to the present. It has been their ever-conscious aim to enable the reader to catch up with his own times; to read intelligently the foreign news in the morning paper; to know what was the attitude of Leo XIII. toward the social democrats even if he has forgotten that of Innocent III. toward the Albigenses."

Out of the mass of European history the authors have aimed to select without distortion those occurrences which project their influence forward into the future, and deserve attention because they help us to understand the world of to-day. To do this they have gone no further back in the narrative than the age of Louis XIV. He serves as a type of that absolute despotism which has been disappearing in Europe during the last hundred years and is not yet completely gone. The Peace of Utrecht, not that of Westphalia, is made the starting point of international relations, because its clauses, especially those in regard to the colonial world, are of so much general and permanent importance. The rise of Russia and of Prussia is briefly sketched, but the attention is centred chiefly upon the colonial struggle between France and England, the philosophers and the enlightened despots. A chapter on the Old Régime, with excursions back into the Middle Ages, attempts to give the background for the Revolution. But 1789 is not a sharp point of division, and the French Revolution is rather briefly treated. There is a "happy reunion of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, which should never have been put asunder by the date 1789. . . . It was the eighteenth century which set the problems of progress and suggested their solutions, leaving to its successor the comparatively simple task of working them out in detail" (preface). In the nineteenth century a nearly equal number of pages is given to England, France, Germany and Russia (about fifty pages each). Most manuals place nearly all the emphasis on events prior to 1870, but this one devotes as much space to an analysis of conditions subsequent to 1870 in each of these four countries as to the events from the fall of Napoleon I. to the Franco-Prussian War. In addition to this emphasis of the most recent period

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

there is a long chapter on the Expansion of Europe in the Nineteenth Century, and another on Some of the Great Problems of To-day which discusses sympathetically and sanely woman's suffrage, popular education, municipal ownership, socialism and many other things including the progress and effects of the great discoveries in the different branches of natural science. This enumeration will serve to show how the whole book converges upon the living world of the present moment. One might expect to find the treatment superficial where so many live topics are briefly touched upon, but such is not the impression left by this chapter; evidently the authors have had it in mind from the beginning and have been leading up to it in such a way that it seems a proper and natural closing chapter.

Far less space than is customary is given to purely military and political events and to the doings of kings and upper classes; though in an appendix the authors "atone for some seeming slights to royalty . . . by giving a convenient list of all the rulers down to December, 1907, whose names are likely to be met with" (II. 423). On the other hand, they tell clearly the fascinating story of the mechanical inventions of the Industrial Revolution, "discoveries destined to alter the habits, ideas, and prospects of the great mass of the people far more profoundly than all the edicts of the National Assembly and all the conquests of Napoleon taken together" (II. 30). They tell also with unusual fullness and sympathy of the rise to political power of the working classes; to socialism, for instance, in its various phases in the different countries, they devote about twice as many pages as to the Unification of Italy. They believe further that "it should be the aim of every student of modern history to follow the development of science and to observe the ways in which it is constantly changing our habits and our views of man, his origin and destiny" (II. 407). Accordingly at the close of the eighteenth century they show excellently how modern science was developing out of medieval superstitions about alchemy and astrology, and how the scientific discoveries helped develop the revolutionary spirit; at the opening of the twentieth century they touch upon the atomic theory, radium, anaesthetics, bacteriology, and the influence of the theory of evolution. To illustrate this generous treatment of economic matters, of the democracy, and of the advance of science, there are good portraits of Newton, Arkwright and Watt, of Karl Marx, and of Charles Darwin.

Errors in the text are very few. Mollwitz was not "a brilliant victory" (I. 64), nor was it won "by the Prussian king", who in fact left the field believing himself defeated, nor did the infantry show "the results of all his father's care and discipline". The foot-note, page 134, seems to imply that Genoa, Venice and the German free cities were monarchies rather than republics. The impression ought not to be given that Francis Bacon had outgrown the old "confidence in vague words like 'moist' and 'dry'" (I. 164); for in his *Natural History*

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

(§ 758) one may read his own solemn statement that "generation ariseth from the nature of the creature, if it be hot, and moist, and sanguine. . . . Doves are the fullest of heat and moisture among birds, and therefore breed often. But deer are a dry melancholy creature." The Count of Provence was not Louis XVI.'s elder brother (I. 249, 257). The stories that "Bonaparte suggested occupying a certain promontory" at Toulon (I. 273, 286), and that at the time of the projected invasion of England "Robert Fulton offered to put his newly invented steamboat at Napoleon's disposal" (I. 316) have been relegated to the domain of legend. Prussia's humiliation at Olmütz did not occur in 1851 (II. 87), nor the proclamation of the German Empire on January 1, 1871 (II. 123). Read Austrian for *Spanish* Netherlands (I. 187), plebiscitum for *plebescitum* (II. 68), and Gandolfo for *Gundolfo* (II. 101). The black and white inset maps are good, but the color maps in preparation and execution are not at all up to the high standard of excellences of the text. Geographical names are frequently spelled two or three different ways, and the boundaries are not always accurately drawn; in the map of Europe after 1815 (I. 352), for instance, Nice is marked as part of France, and Luxemburg, the Bavarian Palatinate and some of Hesse-Darmstadt as part of Prussia.

The book raises large questions. Is it wise for the teacher of history to venture into fields beyond his own? Is it wise, in school or college, to neglect the "cultural value" of medieval history for the practical value of some correct notions about contemporary Europe? And granting these, are the authors wise in their omissions and in their selection of new points for emphasis? Lack of space forbids a discussion. But certainly this "adventurer in the educational world", as the authors humorously call it, is itself a strong argument in the affirmative. It is as solid and informing as it is interesting and clever. It may shock some conservative temperaments who have been living in blind faith in the recommendations of the Committee of Seven, but by many others we suspect it will be hailed as a new evangel.

SIDNEY B. FAY.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

GENERAL

Friedrich Paulsen, professor of philosophy and pedagogy in the University of Berlin and author of several excellent works on the history of German education, died on August 14 in his sixty-third year. His book on *German Education, Past and Present,* first published in German in 1906, has recently been translated into English by Dr. I. Lorenz.

Charles Bigg, Regius professor of ecclesiastical history at Oxford, and author of *The Christian Platonists of Alexandria* (1886), *Neoplatonism* (1895) and *Wayside Sketches in Ecclesiastical History,* died on July 15, at the age of sixty-eight.

William Leete Stone, author of several historical works of value, died at Mount Vernon, New York, on June 11 at the age of seventy-three He began life as a lawyer but soon devoted himself mainly to writing. Among his works are: *Life and Times of Sir William Johnson, The Campaign of General Burgoyne and St. Leger's Expedition, Life and Military Journals of Major-General Riedesel* and a *History of New York City.*

Professor Macvane of Harvard will be absent from his teaching during the academic year now beginning, Professor Coolidge during the first half of the year, Professor Haskins during the second half. Dr. Oswald Redlich of Vienna is to lecture at the university for half a year, in political science.

Dr. Julian P. Bretz of the University of Chicago has been appointed assistant professor of American history in Cornell University.

Professor William H. Allison of Franklin College goes to Bryn Mawr to have charge of the department of European history.

At the Johns Hopkins University Dr. Christopher Johnston has been promoted to the position of professor of Oriental history and archaeology.

Professor William E. Dodd will teach at the University of Chicago from October until next summer. During his year's leave of absence his place at Randolph-Macon College will be supplied by Dr. Charles H. Ambler, lately of the University of Wisconsin.

Professor S. C. Mitchell of Richmond College will teach at Brown University during the academic year now beginning. He has accepted the presidency of the University of South Carolina, where he begins duty in September, 1909.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

At the University of Kansas Dr. Carl L. Becker has been made professor of European history. Mr. D. L. Patterson, late of the University of Wisconsin, has become associate professor of ancient and medieval history.

Dr. Robert Carlton Clark has been appointed assistant professor of history in the University of Oregon.

For the annual meeting of the American Historical Association and American Political Science Association, to be held in Washington and Richmond, December 28–31, the passenger associations have consented to a round-trip rate to and from Washington of one and three-fifths the regular fare. A special rate from Washington to Richmond has also been offered, a special train, and special rates at the Hotel Jefferson, which will be headquarters and in which most meetings will be held. The conference on the mutual relations of geography and history will be devoted to a concrete instance, the relations between the geography of the Southern Atlantic states and their history; that on the teaching of history in the secondary schools will be chiefly occupied with a reconsideration of the Report of the Committee of Seven. The conference of state and local historical societies will consider, first, the report of its committee on co-operation; secondly, the relations of photography to archive-work; thirdly, it is hoped, the general subject of historical exhibitions. Among the papers to be read at Washington will be a group, by Mr. William Nelson, Mr. Rhodes, Mr. Talcott Williams and Mr. Melville E. Stone, on the relations of newspapers to historical investigation and writing.

When the July number of this periodical went to press it was confidently expected that the *Annual Report* of the American Historical Association for 1906 would be distributed by the first of July. Three separate and successive causes of delay have deferred the matter until the month of September, but it is presumed that before the appearance of this journal members who have paid dues for the fiscal year ending September 1, 1908, will have received their copies. Though much delay was experienced in assembling the material to be embraced in the Annual Report for 1907, and this process could not be completed until August, the text was then submitted to the Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution. In the first volume the largest item is Mr. W. S. Robertson's essay on Francisco de Miranda and the Revolutionizing of Spanish America. The second consists of the diplomatic correspondence of the republic of Texas with its representatives in the United States.

The International Historical Congress at Berlin, described in our first article, is also the subject of an article in the *Athenaeum* of August 22.

Volume XXIX. of the *Jahresberichte der Geschichtswissenschaft,* covering the year 1906, has just appeared in two volumes (Berlin, Weidmann, pp. 373, 594; 379, 481). The issue contains surveys, of the usual type, for Egyptian, Hebrew, Persian, early Grecian and Roman history,

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

for most portions of German history, of Italy, Spain, Belgium, Sweden, Poland, the Orient, the United States (by Mr. W. G. Leland) and church history.

The School of American Archaeology announces that an expedition for the study of the Maya culture in Central America will take the field about December 1. Properly qualified students will be admitted. Application should be made to the director, Edgar L. Hewett, 1333 F St., N. W., Washington, D. C.

The sixteenth congress of Americanists was held at Vienna from September 9 to 14. The proceedings, as usual, related to the races indigenous to America, to its indigenous monuments and archaeology, and to the history of the discovery and of the European occupation of the New World.

The second International Archaeological Congress will meet in Egypt from April 10 to 21, 1909, and will hold its sessions successively at Alexandria, Cairo and Thebes. The first three sections are devoted to pre-classical and classical archaeology, and mainly to Greece and Rome, considered particularly in their relations with Egypt. The last three sections deal with religious archaeology, Byzantine archaeology, and numismatics and geography. The president of the congress is M. Maspero and the secretary is Ahmed Zaki Bey.

A project is on foot for the erection, in Ghent, of a monument to the memory of the eminent Belgian jurist, publicist and historian, François Laurent (1810–1887). There is no hope of help from the present clerical government, and appeal is made to the interest of scholars throughout the world. Though a Luxemburger by birth, Ghent, in whose university he was for more than half a century a professor, was the scene of Laurent's lifelong activity; and a public square of that city is the fitting place selected for the proposed memorial. Of the ten thousand dollars which is to be its cost, some three-fourths has already been raised. Those willing to subscribe are asked to address their remittances to the treasurer of the enterprise, M. Henri Boddaert, 46 Coupure, Ghent, Belgium.

It is announced that Ginn and Company will publish during the autumn a work on colonization by Professor A. G. Keller of Yale University. It is described as "a study in founding new societies, and including the less accessible passages of history, omitting from consideration the English and French colonies and the enterprises of those people who have only lately attempted the work of colonization".

P. Thomsen has undertaken the publication of a quinquennial bibliography of new works relating to Palestine. The first volume, which it is proposed to issue next spring through Haupt of Leipzig, will embrace writings published from 1895 to 1904 on the ancient and modern history of the Holy Land, the Crusades, geography and historical topog-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

raphy, archaeology and modern Palestine. Works on the history of Israel, except for the most ancient period, and on New Testament history, are excluded. The second volume will cover the years 1905–1909.

L. L. Price, fellow of Oriel College and lecturer in Economic History in the University of Oxford, has published through the Clarendon Press a lecture on *The Position and Prospects of the Study of Economic History* (pp. 26).

A lecture on *The Scope of Social Anthropology,* delivered last spring by Dr. J. G. Frazer before the University of Liverpool, has been published by Macmillan.

J. Dieserud's volume entitled *The Scope and Content of the Science of Anthropology* (Chicago, Open Court Publishing Company, pp. 200) contains a sketch of the development of the science, a discussion of its scope and content as conceived by different writers, the titles of a library classification (pp. 33) and a descriptive bibliography (96 pp.).

Messrs. T. and T. Clark of Edinburgh are publishing *The Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics,* edited by Dr. James Hastings and presenting in ten volumes contributions from the most competent specialists concerning the religion and morals of all nations both in the past and present. Not only theology and philosophy, but portions of the fields of anthropology (especially of mythology and folk-lore), biology, psychology and sociology are included in this work.

The Royal Historical Society will issue the following works in the Camden Series during the ensuing session: *John of Gaunt's Register,* volume I., edited by Mr. S. Armitage-Smith, and *The French Despatches, 1786–89,* volume I., edited by Mr. Oscar Browning. The society will also publish in the same series a further volume of *Essex Papers,* and, as a separate work, an English translation of the medieval Russian chronicle of Novgorod, prepared by Mr. Michell of the consular service, and edited under the supervision of Mr. R. Morfill and Mr. C. R. Beazley.

The *Hansische Geschichtsverein,* which has almost completed the publication of the medieval sources of the history of the Hanse and has made considerable progress with the publication of the modern sources, has greatly widened the scope of its activities by undertaking the issue of a series of *Abhandlungen zur Verkehrs- u. Seegeschichte,* edited by Dietrich Schäfer. These studies will, as a rule, be based on unprinted material, although monographs drawn from printed sources will not be excluded. The numbers announced are *Brügges Entwickelung zum Mittelalterlichen Weltmark* by Rudolf Häpke and *Emdens und Ostfrieslands Handelsblüte im 16. Jahrhundert,* by Bernhard Hagedorn. The publisher is Karl Curtius, Berlin.

M. Henri Cordier's excellent bibliographical dictionary of works relating to the Chinese Empire, *Bibliotheca Sinica* (Paris, Guilmoto), has been completed by the issue of the eighth fascicle.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Colonel E. M. Lloyd's valuable *Review of the History of Infantry* (Longmans, 1908, pp. xii, 304) begins with Marathon and Plataea and comes down to Paardeberg and Liao Yang.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals; L. Réau, *L'Origine et la Signification des Noms Géographiques* (Revue de Synthèse Historique, April); H. Berr, *Progrès de l'Histoire au XIX^e^ Siècle: Pages Oubliées (1833), de A. Chéruel* (Revue de Synthèse Historique, June); W. Erben, *Theodor Sickel: Umrisse seines Lebens und Schaffens* (Historische Vierteljahrschrift, August).

ANCIENT HISTORY

The German government has founded at Cairo an Imperial Institute for Egyptian Archaeology of which Dr. L. Borchardt is the director.

A translation by Miss Elizabeth Lee of Professor Maspero's *Causeries d'Égypte,* previously noticed in these pages (XIII. 401), is being published by Mr. Fisher Unwin under the title *New Light on Ancient Egypt.*

Dr. S. Funk's work on *Die Juden in Babylonien, 200–500,* is concluded by the issue of a second part (Berlin, Poppelauer, 1908, pp. xii, 160). The first part appeared in 1902.

Mr. Murray is publishing translations by Bettina Kahnweiler of *A Century of Archaeological Discoveries* by Professor Michaelis, and *Douris and the Painters of Greek Vases* by M. Pottier of the Louvre. Both books will be illustrated. The former will contain a preface by Professor Percy Gardner and the latter a preface by Miss Jane E. Harrison.

Twenty-two Gifford lectures on natural religion delivered at Aberdeen by the late James Adam have been edited with a memoir by his wife, Mrs. Adela M. Adam, in a volume entitled *The Religious Teachers of Greece* (Edinburgh, Clark).

Two brilliant lectures on *Greek Historical Writing* and *Apollo,* delivered before the University of Oxford last summer by Professor Ulrich von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, have been translated by Gilbert Murray and published by the Oxford University Press.

The Macmillan Company announces for publication this autumn *The Ancient Greek Historians* by Professor J. B. Bury and *Social Life in Rome* by W. W. Fowler.

Under the title [*Ἡρώδου*] *περὶ πολιτείας* (Paderborn, Schöningh, 1908, pp. 124) Professor E. Drerup publishes in the series of *Studien zur Geschichte und Kultur des Altertums,* of which he is an editor, an Athenian political pamphlet of the year 404 B. C.

A paper read before the British Academy by Mr. Percy Gardner on *The Gold Coinage of Asia before Alexander the Great* (London,

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Frowde, 1908, pp. 32, 2 plates) dwells on the broader aspects of the subject and attempts "a chronological survey of the relations between the Persian state and the subject countries and cities, as they are reflected in the issues of gold and electrum coin".

In the historical bulletin of the *Revue Historique* for July–August, M. Ch. Lécrivain concludes his review of foreign publications, issued from 1902 to 1907, dealing with Latin antiquities.

In the ninety-eighth volume of the *Bibliothèque des Écoles Françaises d'Athènes et de Rome,* M. Charles Dubois treats of the history and topography of *Pouzzoles Antique* (Fontemoing). The volume includes fifty illustrations and a map.

Ralph Van Deman Magoffin has contributed to the Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science *A Study of the Topography and Municipal History of Praeneste* (Baltimore, Johns Hopkins Press, 1908, pp. 101), the first of a series of monographs in which the author proposes to examine the history of the towns of the early Latin League from the topographical and epigraphical points of view.

Studies in the Life of Heliogabalus, by Orma Fitch Butler, issued as part one of University of Michigan Studies, Humanistic Series, volume IV. (Macmillan, 1908, pp. 169), contains an analysis of the modern critical literature dealing with the *Scriptores Historiae Augustae,* a history of the time of Heliogabalus drawn from all sources except the Life in the Augustan history, and a critical study of the Life itself with a view to determining the historical worth of its component elements.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: T. Ashby, *The Rediscovery of Rome* (Quarterly Review, July); J. B. Carter, *Roma Quadrata and the Septimontium* (American Journal of Archaeology, April–June); H. H. Howorth, *The Germans of Caesar,* I. (English Historical Review, July).

EARLY CHURCH HISTORY

Eduard Schwartz, the second volume of whose large and authoritative edition of the Greek text of the *Church History* of Eusebius appeared early this year, has just issued through the house of Hinrichs, Leipzig, the complete text in a small edition without literary apparatus.

The authenticity of a document commonly regarded as spurious is defended by Dom J. M. Pfättisch in his work on *Die Rede Konstantins des Grossen an die Versammlung der Heiligen,* the fourth number in the Strassburg Theological Studies (Freiburg-im-B., Herder, 1908, pp. xi, 117).

Monsignor Vattasso's index of *incipits* of Latin Christian writings before 1216 has been completed by a second volume, *Initia Patrum Aliorumque Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum* (Rome, Typis Vaticanis, 1908).

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

MEDIEVAL HISTORY

Professor Walter Goetz of Tübingen is editing a series of *Beiträge zur Kulturgeschichte des Mittelalters und der Renaissance* (Leipzig, Teubner) which promises to be of much value. While the general purpose of the series is to investigate the development of the spiritual life of these periods, each volume will be a detailed and critical examination of a limited field. The two numbers already published are studies of *Das Heiligen-Leben im 10. Jahrhundert,* by Dr. L. Zoepf (pp. vi, 250) and *Papst Leo IX. und die Simonie: Ein Beitrag zur Untersuchung der Vorgeschichte des Investiturstreites,* by Dr. J. Drehmann (pp. ix, 96).

A translation of *The Writings of St. Francis of Assisi* (Burns and Oates) has been made by the Countess de la Warr from the Père d'Alençon's text, and contains his introduction. The volume comprises many interesting documents, such as the Rule of the Poor Clares and some fragments of Jacques de Vitry.

A new Latin quarterly, *Diarium Terrae Sanctae,* from the press of the convent of S. Salvatore at Jerusalem, is devoted to the history and present interests of the Franciscans in the Holy Land. The first fascicle, published last March under the general direction of Father Roberto Razzòli, contains the first installment of the "Bullarium Franciscanum Terrae Sanctae", beginning with the year 1228, the first part of the "Navis Peregrinorum", or book containing the names and nationalities of all pilgrims to the Holy City from 1561 to 1663, and an introduction to the publication of 24 *folia* of the eighteenth century that fill in gaps in the *Ichnographiae Locorum et Monumentorum Terrae Sanctae* of Father Horn, printed from a Vatican *codex* in 1902 by Father Golubovich.

Professor G. U. Oxilia has edited a tract *De Ecclesiastica Potestate* (Florence, successori Seeber), written by the medieval philosopher Egidio Colonna, and treating of the struggle between church and state under Philip the Fair and Boniface VIII.

Canon L. Salembier, professor in the Catholic University of Lille, in an address delivered last spring to the historical seminary at Louvain on the subject of the Great Schism of the Occident, spoke of the published sources, of the principal results arrived at by workers in this field, and of the various topics that awaited investigation. The latter part of his address is published in the *Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique* for July.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: A. Degert, *Un Ouvrier de la Réforme au XI^e Siècle: Amat d'Oloron* (Revue des Questions Historiques, July); K. Hampe, *Über die Flugschriften zum Lyoner Konzil von 1245* (Historische Vierteljahrschrift, August).

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

In a recent volume, *Staat und Gesellschaft der Neueren Zeit,* in the admirable series *Die Kultur der Gegenwart: ihre Entwicklung und ihre Ziele* (Leipzig, Teubner), Fr. von Bezold writes of the period of the Reformation, E. Gothein of the period of the Counter Reformation, and R. Koser of the period when absolutism was at its height. The volume comes down only to the French Revolution.

Dr. A. H. Mathew is preparing a translation from the Latin of the *Diary* of John Burchard, major-domo and master of the ceremonies to Popes Sixtus IV., Innocent VIII., Alexander VI., Pius III. and Julius II. (1483–1506). The book will contain an introduction, notes, appendices and illustrations, and will be published by Mr. Francis Griffiths, 34 Maidenlane, London.

Messrs. Chatto and Windus will soon publish a Latin text of the *Epistolae Obscurorum Virorum* with a translation by Mr. F. G. Stokes, the first English translation ever published.

The *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte* has issued a third Ergänzungsband: *Der Briefwechsel der Schweizer mit den Polen,* in which Dr. Th. Wotschke prints wholly or in part 527 letters that passed between Protestants in Poland and their compatriots resident in Switzerland and the leading reformers in Zurich, Geneva or Basel. The documents throw much light on events in Poland during the latter half of the sixteenth century.

Father E. Palandri contributes to the July number of the *Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique* an article on "Le Rôle Diplomatique de la Toscane à la Veille de la Saint Barthélemy (1571–1572)", which is part of an able doctoral dissertation presented by him to the faculty of the University of Louvain on "Les Négociations Politiques et Religieuses entre la Toscane et la France à l'Époque de Cosme I^{er} et de Catherine de Médicis (1544–1580), d'après les Archives de l'État à Florence et à Paris".

The Vicomte de Noailles, whose work on *Marins et Soldats Français en Amérique pendant la Guerre de l'Indépendance des États-Unis (1778–1783)* was crowned by the French Academy, has published a book on *Épisodes de la Guerre de Trente Ans: Bernard de Saxe-Weimar (1604 à 1639), et la Réunion de l'Alsace à la France* (Paris, Perin), in which many documents are used for the first time. This is the second volume of *Épisodes de la Guerre de Trente Ans* by this author.

In the *Bijdragen en Mededeelingen* of the historical society of Utrecht, volume XXIV., pp. 3–406, Professor G. W. Kernkamp publishes with introductions documents from the state archives at Stockholm relating to the commerce that flourished in the seventeenth century between Holland and Sweden. The collection consists of thirty-eight letters, written from Amsterdam from 1635 to 1641 to the Chancellor Oxenstierna by the merchant and Swedish commissioner

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Samuel Blommaert; letters written from Amsterdam from 1618 to 1652 to prominent Scandinavians by the merchant Louis de Geer; and various documents concerning Geer's commercial and industrial activities.

A volume of *Historical and Political Essays* (Longmans, 1908), by the late W. E. H. Lecky, includes papers on "Carlyle's Messages to his Age", "Madame de Staël", "Ireland in the Light of History", "Queen Victoria as a Moral Force", and "Old-Age Pensions".

In a volume based on documents in the Paris Archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs at Paris, G. Gautherot studies *Les Relations Franco-Helvétiques de 1789 à 1792* (Paris, Champion, 1908, pp. 133) from the double point of view of international politics and of the diffusion in Europe of revolutionary ideas.

M. Pierre Rain's *L'Europe et la Révolution des Bourbons, 1814–1818* (Paris, Perrin, pp. 500) is based on unpublished sources. The author aims at showing the influence of Europe in the double restoration of the Bourbons and the direct consequences of this intervention.

International Documents: a Collection of International Conventions and Declarations of a Law-Making Kind, edited with introduction and notes by E. A. Whittuck, one of the governors of the London School of Economics and Political Science (Longmans, 1908), contains texts of the Declaration of Paris, 1856, the Geneva Convention, 1864, the Declaration of St. Petersburg, 1868, the various acts of the Hague Conferences of 1899 and 1907, with instructions to plenipotentiaries and other supplementary matter in an appendix. The texts are given in French and in English, on opposite pages.

A *History of Contemporary Civilization,* by M. Charles Seignobos, has been translated by Professor A. H. Wilde and is published by Scribner.

Texts of the Peace Conferences, 1899 and 1907, edited by Professor James Brown Scott, has been added by Ginn and Company to their International Library. Professor William I. Hull of Swarthmore College has in the press a volume on *The Two Hague Conferences.*

Dr. K. Asakawa contributes to the August number of the *Yale Review* a very instructive article on "Japan in Manchuria". The large phases of the subject are treated in a manner forceful and clarifying, the "new diplomacy" in China receiving particular attention. A supplementary article dealing more particularly with the resulting commercial situation is to appear in the November issue of the same periodical.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: M. Ritter, *Das Römische Kirchenrecht und der Westfälische Friede* (Historische Zeitschrift, CI. 2); H. Barge, *Die Älteste Evangelische Armenordnung* (Historische Vierteljahrschrift, June).

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND

The Roman Centuriation in the Middlesex District, by Dr. R. Sharpe (Brentford, Brentford Publishing Company, 1908, pp. 20), is a short study of the settlement and delimitation of estates by the Romans in their colonization of Britain.

The Chronicle of John of Worcester, 1118–1140, which is being issued in the *Anecdota Oxoniensia,* medieval and modern series, part XIII. (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1908, pp. 72), is a continuation of the "Chronicon ex Chronicis" of Florence of Worcester. The text has been drawn from a manuscript in the library of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, and is edited by Mr. J. R. H. Weaver.

A contribution to the constitutional history of English boroughs to the reign of King Edward I. has been made by E. F. Doering in his *Studien zur Verfassungsgeschichte von Leicester* (Hanau, Clauss and Feddersen, 1908, pp. iii, 79).

Professor F. J. C. Hearnshaw, one of the editors of the *Southampton Court Leet Records,* has written an extensive work of legal and historical research on *Leet Jurisdiction in England, especially as illustrated by the Records of the Court Leet of Southampton,* published by the Southampton Record Society (Southampton, Cox and Sharland, 1908, pp. 406). The book is in three parts: The Leet in Legal Theory; the Leet in Practice; and the History of Leet Jurisdiction. One of the author's conclusions is that the sheriff's tourn did not originate in the Assize of Clarendon, 1166, and that this assize marks a diminution of the sheriff's power.

The Manorial Society has issued as its second monograph the second part of *Lists of Manor Court Rolls in Private Hands* (London, 1 Mitre Court Buildings, Temple, 1908, pp. 25). The rolls, which include some account rolls, custumals, rentals, etc., pertain to twenty-three counties. One Staffordshire roll dates back as far as 1259.

Rev. Alfred D. Beaven has published at the instance of the Corporation of London the first volume of a work entitled *Aldermen of the City of London* (Eden Fisher and Company), which presents an exhaustive list of aldermen, arranged in chronological order under their respective wards, from about 1275 to the present time, together with carefully compiled articles on the Parliamentary representation of the city of London, the relations of the aldermen with the various livery companies, and similar matters. No index will appear until the publication of the second volume.

Madame Inna Lubimenko has published as a doctoral thesis in the University of Paris an excellent monograph prepared under the direction of M. Charles Bémont on Jean de Bretagne (1266–1334) and the "honor of Richmond".

The Constitutional History of England (Cambridge University Press, 1908) is a course of lectures delivered by Professor F. W. Maitland

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

in 1887–1888 and containing a sketch of English public law at five periods—1307, 1509, 1625, 1702 and 1887. The editor, Mr. H. A. L. Fisher, states that he knows of no book which "provides so good an introduction to the study of English Constitutional History, or which is likely to be more highly valued by practical teachers of our Universities".

The Oxford University Press has published a volume of *Selections from Erasmus,* principally from his epistles, by P. S. Allen, who is editing the larger edition for the same press. The selections have been made with a view to illustrating English life of the period, and the editor has added a memoir of Erasmus, notes and a vocabulary of special words.

Professor William Osler's Linacre lecture for 1908, in which he gives a life of Thomas Linacre with an estimate of his work both as medical humanist and as grammarian, has been published by the Cambridge University Press (1908, pp. 64, 11 plates).

Under the title *Chantry Certificates for Bedfordshire* (Bedfordshire Times Publishing Company, 1908, pp. 86) the Rev. J. E. Brown publishes a transcript of the return made by the commissioners in the reign of Edward VI., and F. A. Page-Turner contributes "Institutions of Chantry Priests in Bedfordshire".

The Early History of the Levant Company, by Dr. M. Epstein (Routledge, 1908, pp. 270), is based on Record Office material and comes down to the year 1640. Appendices (118 pp.) include the charter granted in 1605, lists of governors, ships, ports, etc.

The Elizabethan Parish in its Ecclesiastical and Financial Aspects (pp. 93), by Sedley L. Ware, forms numbers 7 and 8 of series XXVI. of the Johns Hopkins University Studies. The subjects of ecclesiastical government and parish finance are treated separately, a chapter to each, the two chapters being but part of a larger work which the author has projected, designed to cover the aspects of parish government in the Elizabethan period. The work is well written, contains abundant footnotes, and altogether is a valuable addition to the literature of English local government.

The British government has consented to extend from three volumes to five the proposed series of Colonial Entries in the Registers of the Privy Council.

Under the title *Skotlands Rimur* Dr. W. A. Craigie has edited for the Oxford University Press a set of Icelandic ballads of the early seventeenth century relating to the Gowrie conspiracy. The original manuscript is in the University Library of Copenhagen and is based on the Danish translation of the official account of the conspiracy published at Copenhagen in 1601, and printed by Mr. Craigie in an appendix.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Mr. Andrew Lang is publishing through Longmans a life of *Sir George Mackenzie, the King's Advocate, 1636–1691,* based in part on unpublished political letters of Mackenzie.

The Bibliographical Society has published *A Dictionary of the Booksellers and Printers who were at work in England, Scotland and Ireland from 1641 to 1667,* by Mr. Henry R. Plomer, so carefully composed as to be of much use to historical scholars.

The seventh part of the *Medallic Illustrations of the History of Great Britain and Ireland,* issued by the British Museum, includes reproductions of some one hundred and twenty medals illustrating nearly all of the more important historical events from 1682 to 1689.

British Imperialism in the Eighteenth Century (London, Constable, pp. 247), by G. B. Hertz, lecturer at Manchester University, is mainly a study of "four outbursts of popular emotion"—the war fever of 1731, the anti-Jewish frenzy of 1753, the war panic over the matter of the Falkland Islands in 1770, and Pitt's "Russian menace", in 1791. A final chapter is devoted to the history of Berkeley's project of founding a religious college in the Bermudas.

In his two-volume work, *Modern England: a Record of Opinion and Action from the Time of the French Revolution to the Present Day* (London, Watts, 1908), Mr. A. W. Benn, author of *The History of English Rationalism in the Nineteenth Century,* aims at showing the influence on thought and politics of rationalistic opinion.

A Century of Education: Being the Centenary History of the British and Foreign School Society (Dent, 1908, pp. 342) is a sketch of education in England during the last hundred years by Mr. H. B. Binns, with supplementary chapters on educational matters by Dr. Macnamara, Professor Foster Watson, Mr. Sidney Webb and Mr. Graham Wallas.

The second and completing volume of J. B. Atlay's lives of *The Victorian Chancellors* (London, Smith Elder; Boston, Little and Brown, 1908) begins with Lord St. Leonards and goes down to the end of the reign.

A *Military History of Perthshire,* 1660–1902 (Perth, R. and J. Hay), edited by the Marchioness of Tullibardine, presents in two handsome volumes much matter of historical value, from the first raising of companies of Highlanders in the seventeenth century to the service of Perth men in South Africa.

In Mrs. Alice Stopford Green's remarkable book on *The Making of Ireland and its Undoing, 1200–1600* (Macmillan, 1908, pp. xvi, 511) the author has compiled from the sources an account of Irish civilization and especially of Irish trade which is of great value in spite of its strong anti-English bias.

Dr. G. M. Theal's *History of South Africa since September, 1795,* has now been completed by the issue of the fifth volume, dealing with the Cape Colony and Natal to 1872 and with Griqualand West to 1880.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

British government publications: *Calendar of Patent Rolls,* Henry III., 1247–1258; *Calendar of Charter Rolls,* III., 1300–1326; *Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem,* V., Edward II.; *Index of Chancery Proceedings,* series II., vol. II., 1579–1621; *Calendar of State Papers, Venice and Northern Italy,* XIV., 1615–1617, edited by Allen B. Hinds; *Calendar of State Papers (Ireland),* 1666–1669; *Calendar of Treasury Books,* 1669–1672; *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial,* 1699, edited by Cecil Headlam; *Reports of the Historical Manuscripts Commission* on the manuscripts of the Marquess of Ormonde, preserved at Kilkenny Castle, new series, vol. V.

Other documentary publications: *Great Roll of the Pipe* for the twenty-fifth year of the reign of King Henry II., 1178–1179 (London, Spottiswood); Charles Gross, *Select Cases concerning the Law Merchant,* 1270–1638, I. *Local Courts* [Selden Society's Publications, vol. XXIII.] (London, Quaritch, 1908, pp. lv, 159); Geoffrey Keating, *The History of Ireland,* II., III., edited by Rev. R. P. Dinneen [Publications of the Irish Text Society, VIII., IX.] (London, Nutt).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: A. Cartellieri, *Richard Löwenherz im Heiligen Lande* (Historische Zeitschrift, CI. 1); Rose Graham, *The Taxation of Pope Nicholas IV.* (English Historical Review, July); C. G. Bayne, *The First House of Commons of Queen Elizabeth,* I. (English Historical Review, July); E. C. K. Gonner, *The Progress of Inclosure during the Seventeenth Century* (English Historical Review, July); Comte M. de Germiny, *Les Brigandages Maritimes de l'Angleterre sous le Règne de Louis XV.,* II. (Revue des Questions Historiques, July); *Colonial Policy under the Earl of Elgin* (Edinburgh Review, July).

FRANCE

The first Prix Gobert of the French Academy has been awarded to M. Camille Jullian for his *Histoire de la Gaule,* and the second to M. Paul Courteault for *Blaise de Montluc, Historien.* The first Prix Gobert of the Academy of Inscriptions and Belles Lettres was awarded to M. Chalandon for his *Histoire de la Domination Normande dans l'Italie Méridionale,* and the second to M. Ch. Samaran for his work: *La Maison d'Armagnac au XV^e Siècle.* Two thousand francs of the Prix Thérouanne were divided between M. P. Pierling for his work *La Russie et la Saint-Siège* and M. F. Rousseau for *Le Règne de Carlos III. d'Espagne.*

The department of manuscripts of the Bibliothèque Nationale has acquired from the celebrated library of Sir Thomas Phillipps 272 manuscripts and collections of original charters dating from the eleventh to the eighteenth century, and relating to the history of France. A list of French cartularies in this collection is printed in the *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes* for January–April.

In his work on *Jeanne d'Arc Guerrière* (Paris, Nouvelle Librairie

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Nationale) Gen. Frédéric Canonge defends Joan of Arc's ability as a military leader.

In the April number of the *Revue de Synthèse Historique* M. P. Cultru reviews in masterly fashion the literature relating to the history of the French colonies under the Ancient Régime.

The fourth and concluding volume of the Comte d'Haussonville's extensive work on *La Duchesse de Bourgogne et l'Alliance Savoyarde sous Louis XIV.* treats of *L'Avant-Règne de la Mort* and *Épilogue de l'Alliance Savoyarde* (Paris, Calmann-Lévy, 1908). Some of the chapters have appeared in the *Revue des Deux Mondes.*

The first fascicle of the first part of the eighth volume of M. E. Lavisse's *Histoire de France* treats of *Louis XIV.: La Fin du Règne (1685–1715)* (Paris, Hachette, 1908). The history of foreign policy is by M. de Saint-Léger; the economic history by M. Sagnac; that of religious affairs and of the movement of ideas by M. Rébelliau; and that of the king and court by M. Lavisse.

From unpublished documents and the archives of the family of Dupleix, the Marquis de Nazelle has written an account of *Dupleix et la Défense de Pondichery, 1748* (Champion) which includes a detailed narrative of the principal occurrences in French India from October, 1746, to January, 1749.

Professor Fred Morrow Fling's history of *The Youth of Mirabeau* is the first part of a work to be completed in three volumes under the general title of *Mirabeau and the French Revolution* (Putnams).

The character and causes of poverty in France in the eighteenth century, the ancient methods of poor relief, the reforms of 1764–1789, and the formation of new theories of poor relief at the time of the Revolution, are among the topics discussed by Camille Bloch, inspector general of libraries and archives, in his work on *L'Assistance et l'État en France à la Veille de la Révolution (Généralités de Paris, Rouen, Alençon, Orléans, Châlons, Soissons, Amiens), 1764–1790* (Paris, Picard, 1908, pp. lxiv, 504).

The *Bulletin Trimestriel,* 1907, nos. 1 and 2 (Paris, Leroux, 1908, pp. 240) of the commission on the economic life of the Revolution, is mainly concerned with the topic of the food-supply. MM. P. Caron and L. Raulet contribute an article on *Le Comité des Subsistances de Meulan et l'Approvisionnement de Paris (1789–1791)* and M. Caron publishes the reports of Grivel and Siret, commissioners at Paris of the provisory executive council, on subsistence and the maximum from September, 1793, to March, 1794. M. A. Brette gives an account of "L'État Général des Bailliages en 1789".

The encyclopedic *Table Analytique Alphabétique* (Paris, Rouff, 1908) of M. Jaurès's *Histoire Socialiste (1789–1900)*, compiled by Albert Thomas, is published as a separate volume of more than two hundred pages.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Under the title *Les Volontaires Nationaux, 1791–1793* (Paris, Chapelot, 1908), Eugène Déprez has published a study of the formation and organization of the battalions, made from communal and departmental archives.

Students of the Napoleonic period will find a useful book of reference in Albert Schuermans's *Itinéraire Général de Napoléon Ier* (Paris, Picard, 1908) to which M. Henry Houssaye of the French Academy contributes a laudatory preface.

The thirteenth volume of M. Ollivier's history of *L'Empire Libéral* (Paris, Garnier, 1908) gives the history of his ministry from January to July, 1870. The chapters on the Vatican Council are of especial interest and importance.

An interesting monograph on *Adolphe Quetelet as Statistician*, contributed by Dr. F. H. Hankins to the Columbia University Studies in History, Economics and Public Law (Longmans, 1908, pp. 134), contains an account of Quetelet's life and place in the history of statistical literature, and a critical exposition of his chief contributions to sociology —his concept of the average man as a type, his studies in moral statistics, and his statistical method.

The third and concluding volume of the *Life and Letters of H. Taine, 1870–1892*, abridged and translated from the French by E. Sparvel-Bayly, has been published by Constable (1908, pp. 335).

Documentary publications: E.-R. Vaucelle, *Catalogue des Lettres de Nicolas V. concernant la Province Ecclésiastique de Tours d'après les Registres des Archives Vaticanes*, 1447–1455 (Paris, Picard, 1908, pp. lvii, 405); Prince Murat, *Lettres et Documents pour servir à l'Histoire de Joachim Murat, 1767–1815*, I., with introduction and notes by Paul le Brethon (Paris, Plon, 1908); C. Bloch, *Inventaire Sommaire des Volumes de la Collection Joly de Fleury concernant l'Assistance et la Mendicité* (Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes, January–April); Comte de la Forest, *Correspondance au Comte de La Forest, Ambassadeur de France en Espagne (1808–1813)*, II. [Edited by G. de Grandmaison for the Society of Contemporary History] (Picard, 1908, pp. 470).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: L. Villat, *Les Régions de la France*, V.: *Le Velay* (Revue de Synthèse Historique, June); F. Lot, *La Grande Invasion Normande de 856–862* (Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes, January–April); A. Lang, *M. Anatole France on Jeanne d'Arc* (Scottish Historical Review, July); *Port Royal* (Edinburgh Review, July); *The Duc de Choiseul* (Edinburgh Review, July); H. Sée, *Les Idées Politiques de Voltaire* (Revue Historique, July–August); A. Wahl, *Über die Ursachen der Französischen Revolution* (Historische Zeitschrift, CI. 2); *The French Expedition to Egypt in 1798* (Edinburgh Review, July); Othon Guerlac, *The Separation of Church and State in France* (Political Science Quarterly, June); P. Lacombe, *Les*

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Historiens de la Révolution—Jean Jaurès: I. La Constituante; II. La Législative et la Convention (Revue de Synthèse Historique, April, June).

ITALY AND SPAIN

Recent works on the history of Italy from the fifteenth to the eighteenth century inclusive are reviewed in the bulletin of the *Revue Historique* for July–August by M. L.-G. Pélissier, while in the July number of the *Revue des Questions Historiques* he concludes a general survey of recent Italian historical publications.

The new review, *Bollettino dell'Archivio Paleographico Italiano* (Rome, Loescher), whose director is M. Federici, is designed to supplement the *Archivio Paleographico Italiano* by publishing descriptions and translations of the texts reproduced in the *Archivio,* and communications relative to palaeography, diplomatic, and medieval epigraphy.

The fifth number of the *Archivio Muratoriano* comprises a monograph by Armando Carlini on the retractation of Fra Michele di Cesena and the false "Miserere" published under his name in the *Raccolta Muratoriana,* and a briefer article by Ettore Rota "Di Pietro d'Eboli e d'Alcuni Suoi Critici Recenti".

The Archivio Storico Civico of Milan has recently acquired from the late Chevalier Domenico Muoni's remarkable collection of historical manuscripts, which was especially rich in documents of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, a considerable number relating to the history of Milan and the Milanese region. The other more important manuscripts of the collection were acquired by the national library of the Brera. The Archivio Storico Civico is undertaking to form a great biographical collection of printed and manuscript materials concerning persons who have lived in the province.

The first part of the second volume (*Guelfen und Ghibellinen*) of Dr. R. Davidsohn's excellent *Geschichte von Florenz* was noticed in the April number of this review. Since then the second and concluding part of the same volume has appeared under the title *Die Guelfenherrschaft und der Sieg des Volkes* (Berlin, Mittler, 1908, pp. viii, 634).

Dr. W. Andreas has published a work on *Die Venezianischen Relazionen und ihr Verhältnis zur Kultur der Renaissance* (Leipzig, Quelle und Meyer, 1908, pp. x, 124).

Max Barkhausen has contributed to the series of *Heidelberger Abhandlungen zur Mittleren und Neueren Geschichte* (Heidelberg, Winter) a volume on *Francesco Guicciardinis Politische Theorien in seinen Opere Inedite* (1908, pp. viii, 117).

New material relating to Garibaldi and Mazzini and to the events of the *Risorgimento* will be found in a volume which Mr. Fisher Unwin will publish under the title *The Birth of Modern Italy: the Posthumous Papers of Jessie White Mario,* edited by the Duke Litta-Visconti-Arese.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

A narrative account in two volumes of *Roma e lo Stato del Papa dal Ritorno di Pio IX. al XX. Settembre,* by R. de Cesare (Rome, Forzani, pp. xii, 395, 489), is based upon important unpublished sources and written from a Catholic's point of view.

An Institute of Catalan Studies has been founded at Barcelona for the scientific study of all the elements of Catalan civilization. It comprises four sections: history, archaeology, literature, and law, and will publish texts, memoirs and monographs.

Documentary publications: C. Cipolla, *Annales Veronenses Antiqui* [a newly-discovered thirteenth-century chronicle coming down to the year 1251] (Bollettino dell' Instituto Storico Italiano, 1908, no. 29, pp. 1–80); P. Piccolomini, *Corrispondenza tra la Corte di Roma e l'Inquisitore di Malta durante la Guerra di Candia (1645–1651)* (Archivio Storico Italiano, series V., vol. XLI., fasc. 1); Jerónimo Becker, *Colección de Tratados, Convenios y demás Documentos de Carácter Internacional firmados por España, 1868–1874* (Madrid, 1907).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: A. Schaube, *Die Anfänge der Venezianischen Galeerenfahrten nach der Nordsee* (Historische Zeitschrift, CI. 1); F. Meyer, *Die Missionspläne des Ignatius von Loyola und die Gründung des Jesuitenkollegs in Messina im Jahre 1548* (Historische Zeitschrift, CI. 2).

GERMANY, AUSTRIA, SWITZERLAND

In the July number of the *Revue des Questions Historiques* E.-A. Goldsilber gives a summary account of recent works on medieval Germany.

Rudolf Kötzschke's *Deutsche Wirtschaftsgeschichte bis zum 17. Jahrhundert* (Leipzig, Teubner, 1908, pp. 141) forms the first part of the second volume of Aloys Meister's *Grundriss der Geschichtswissenschaft.* Like the other divisions of this valuable work, it aims to inform the student of the latest opinion on the subject of which it treats, and by acquainting him with the opposing conclusions of different authors and with the special literature of the subject to place him in a position to undertake further investigation on his own account.

Der Reichs-Gedanke des Staufischen Kaiserhauses (Breslau, Marcus, 1908, pp. 84), the ninety-fifth volume in the series of *Untersuchungen zur Deutschen Staats- und Rechtsgeschichte,* edited by Dr. Otto Gierke, is a contribution to the history of the medieval state and of medieval thought, by Dr. M. Krammer.

The fifth volume of *Quellen und Darstellungen aus der Geschichte des Reformationsjahrhunderts* is entitled *Spalatiniana* (Leipzig, Heinsius, 1908, pp. vii, 123) and contains a "Vita Georgii Spalatini ex ipsius *αὐτογράφῳ* descripta", 1534; an "Index Brevissimus Rerum Illustrissimi Principis, Domini Johannis Ducis Saxoniae Electoris"; "Georgii

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Spalatini Ephemerides Inchoatae Anno MCCCCLXXX", and an appendix of *Lutherana* and documents from the Nürnberg Veit Dietrich codex and elsewhere, edited by Dr. G. Berbig.

The development of the views of Luther and Melancthon on freedom of faith and conscience are studied by Dr. Paul Wappler in his volume entitled *Inquisition und Ketzerprozesse in Zwickau zur Reformationszeit* (Leipzig, Heinsius, 1908, pp. iv, 219).

The third number in the series of *Geschichtliche Untersuchungen*, edited by Professor Karl Lamprecht, is a monograph on *Maria Theresias Staats- und Lebensanschauung* by G. Dorschel (Gotha, Perthes, 1908, pp. xi, 175).

Dr. Victor Loewe has compiled an extensive *Bibliographie der Hannoverschen und Braunschweigischen Geschichte* (Posen, Jolowicz, 1908, pp. viii, 450).

Under the title *Die Elsässischen Annalen der Stauferzeit* (Innsbruck, Wagner, 1908, pp. xiii, 209) H. Block has written a critical introduction to the edition of the registers of the bishops of Strassburg, which is being brought out by the commission for publishing the historical sources of Alsace.

B. Bretholz, conservator of the state archives of the province of Moravia at Brunn, has published a history of the archives and an account of the part that they have played in the historical movement of the last hundred and fifty years. Some of the most remarkable of the documents preserved here are printed in the volume, which is entitled *Das Mährische Landesarchiv, seine Geschichte, seine Bestände* (Brunn, 1908).

With the support of the Bohemian diet G. Friedrich has published the first volume of a *Codex Diplomaticus et Epistolarius Regni Bohemiae* (Prague, Wiesner, 1907, pp. 567). The work will comprise six volumes and will come down to 1310.

Dom P. Lindner has published the first volume of a *Monasticon Metropolis Salzburgensis Antiquae*, which when completed in three volumes will contain historical notices drawn from archive material of each of the religious houses in the ancient ecclesiastical province of Salzburg.

Documentary publications: K. Rieder, *Römische Quellen zur Konstanzer Bistumsgeschichte zur Zeit der Päpste in Avignon* [more than 2,000 bulls and other pontifical documents are analyzed or printed in extenso] (Innsbruck, Wagner, 1908, pp. xc, 738); J. Greving, *Johann Ecks Pfarrbuch für U. L. Frau in Ingolstadt: Ein Beitrag zur Kenntnis der Pfarrkirchlichen Verhältnisse im 16. Jahrhundert* [Reformationsgeschichtliche Studien und Texte, Hefts 4 and 5] (Münster, Aschendorff, 1908, pp. xiv, 253); Dr. H. Wopfner, *Quellen zur Vorgeschichte des Bauernkriegs: Beschwerdeartikel aus den Jahren 1519–*

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

1525 (*Quellen zur Geschichte des Bauernkriegs in Deutschtirol,* 1525, I., *Acta Tirolensia,* III.) (Innsbruck, Wagner, 1908, pp. xxviii, 235); W. Goetz, *Die Politik Maximilians I. von Bayern und seiner Verbündeten, 1618–1651,* second part, vol. I., 1623–1624 [Briefe und Akten zur Geschichte des Dreissigjährigen Krieges, new series, published by the Historical Commission of Munich] (Leipzig, Teubner, 1908, pp. xvii, 680); R. Koser and H. Droysen, *Briefwechsel des Kronprinzen Friedrich, 1736–1740: Friedrich's des Grossen Briefwechsel mit Voltaire,* I. (*Publikationen aus den K. Preussischen Staatsarchiven,* LXXXI.) (Leipzig, Hirzel, 1908, pp. xv, 368).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: A. Werminghoff, *Neuere Arbeiten über das Verhältnis von Staat und Kirche in Deutschland während des Späteren Mittelalters* (Historische Vierteljahrschrift, June); P. Clément-Simon, *La Politique de la Prusse en Orient,* 1763–1871 (Revue d'Histoire Diplomatique, XXII. 3).

NETHERLANDS AND BELGIUM

Dr. Gisbert Brom, director of the Historical Institute of the Netherlands at Rome, is publishing in the collection of *Rijks Geschiedkundige Publicatien* the first volume of the *Regesta Vaticana,* a detailed inventory of Italian archive material relating to the history of the Netherlands.

L. Kooperberg's long doctoral dissertation on *Margaretha van Oostenrijk, Landvoogdes der Nederlanden, tot den Vrede van Kamerijk* (Amsterdam, van Holkema en Warendorf, pp. 472) is the fruit of laborious researches in the archives of Brussels, Lille and Paris, and contains several documents hitherto unpublished.

The fourth volume of Dr. H. T. Colenbrander's *Gedenkstukken der Algemeene Geschiedenis van Nederland van 1795 tot 1840* (Hague, Nijhoff, 1908, pp. lxxviii, 787) contains the text in whole or in part of 827 documents from French, Prussian, English and Batavian sources relative to the political history of the Batavian Republic from 1801 to 1806.

In the historical bulletin of the July-August number of the *Revue Historique* Professor Eugène Hubert reviews publications of the years 1906–1907 relative to the history of Belgium.

Fathers E. de Moreau and J.-B. Goetstouwers have edited with great care *Le Polyptique de l'Abbaye de Villers* (printed separately from the *Analectes pour servir à l'Histoire Ecclésiastique de Belgique,* 1908, pp. 238). This document, which dates from the thirteenth century, is of much value for economic history, and also for the topography and history of the noble houses of Brabant.

In M. Charles Pergameni's excellent doctoral thesis, *L'Avouerie Ecclésiastique Belge: Des Origines à la Période Bourguignonne* (Ghent, Soc. Coöpérative "Volksdrukkerij", 1907, pp. 223) the author has

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

attempted to construct from references in the chronicles and from official documents a history of the development of the *avouerie* during the period indicated, analogous to M. Senn's account of the same institution in France.

Father J.-B. Goetstouwers has made a valuable contribution to social history, in his dissertation on *Les Métiers de Namur sous l'Ancien Régime,* the twentieth fascicle in the series published by the historical and philological conferences of the University of Louvain.

NORTHERN AND EASTERN EUROPE

On the basis of new documentary evidence Halvdan Koht has constructed an account of *Die Stellung Norwegens und Schwedens im Deutsch-Dänischen Konflikt, zumal während der Jahre 1863 und 1864,* the seventh number in the *Videnskabs-Selskabets Skrifter,* II. Hist.-filosof. klasse (Kristiania, Dybwad, 1908, pp. x, 348).

In 1658 the Czar Alexis Mikhaïlovitch organized a sort of secret imperial chancery, composed of a first secretary and ten assistants, charged with exercising a rigorous surveillance over the Russian boyars and the cultivated classes. The institution was suppressed by the successor of Alexis who came to the throne in 1676. The *Dnevalnyia Zapiski,* or notes taken from day to day for the benefit of these officials, are of much interest, and have been printed by the archivist Serge Bielokourov in the first part of the *Lectures de la Société d'Histoire et d'Antiquités Russes attachée à l'Université de Moscou* (1908, pp. x, 224).

L'Europe et la Résurrection de la Serbie (1804–1834), by Grégoire Yakschitch (Paris, Hachette, 1907, pp. 530), is an important work largely based on materials in Parisian archives.

AMERICAN HISTORY

GENERAL ITEMS

The Carnegie Institution of Washington will issue this autumn the *Guide to the Manuscript Materials for the History of the United States to 1783, in the British Museum, in Minor London Archives and in the Libraries of Oxford and Cambridge,* which has been prepared by Professor Charles M. Andrews, with the assistance of Miss Frances G. Davenport. All page-proofs have been read (430 pages of text), and the index, which must necessarily be elaborate, is being completed. Dr. Andrews's volume for the Public Record Office, which was to have preceded but which was delayed by the large rearrangements carried out in that repository, can probably be finished in manuscript next summer. Professor Bolton has completed the notes for his inventory of the archives of the city of Mexico, and of those of Querétaro, San Luis Potosí, Guadalajara, Zacatecas and Chihuahua. Mr. Leland's work in Paris will continue through the autumn, but will be suspended by his return to

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Washington, and finished in Paris next summer. Professor Fish of Wisconsin has arrived in Rome, where he will spend the year in making for the Institution a similar work, a Guide to the Materials for the History of North America in Roman Archives and Libraries. Professor Allison, now of Bryn Mawr College, has nearly finished his inventory of manuscript materials for American religious history. The collection of letters of delegates to the Continental Congress has been advanced by researches covering Massachusetts, Rhode Island and South Carolina; much progress has been made with the American debates in Parliament; and a good beginning has been made of the calendar of papers in Washington relating to the territories.

The New Netherland volume in the series of *Original Narratives of Early American History* is expected to be published in February or March.

Writings on American History, 1906 (Macmillan, 1908, pp. xvi, 186), compiled by Miss Grace G. Griffin, is a volume closely following the plan of Professor McLaughlin's *Writings on American History, 1903*. It embraces titles to the number of 3467, derived from books published in 1906 and more than three hundred periodicals, European and American. The scope of the work includes the history of the United States and Canada. For the countries south of the United States it makes no attempt to include any books and articles but those published in the United States, Canada and Europe. The annotation is confined to what is strictly necessary. The arrangement is topical, but there is an alphabetical index of 34 pages. Most of the material for the volume for 1907 is already collected.

Mr. Waldo G. Leland of the Carnegie Institution, who already prepares for the *Jahresberichte der Geschichts-Wissenschaft* its annual survey of works published in American history, has been engaged to write hereafter a biennial account of historical progress in this country for the *Revue Historique*.

The Macmillan Company announce for publication during the autumn a *Documentary Source-Book of American History*, by Professor William MacDonald. The work includes all the most important documents contained in Professor MacDonald's larger work, but in some cases shortened.

Rev. E. I. Devitt contributes to the March issue of the *Records* of the American Catholic Historical Society an article on the Jesuit mission of Axacan, undertaken presumably in Northern Virginia, about 1570. The article consists for the most part of a translation (from Astrain's *Historia de la Compañia de Jesus en la Asistencia de España*) of the account of the enterprise given by Father Rogel, one of the missionaries. Dr. J. J. Walsh writes in the same issue a brief article entitled "Foregleams of the Declaration of Independence in the Thirteenth Colony", and Rev. T. C. Middleton gives an account of Catholic period-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

icals published in the United States from 1809 to 1892, supplementing a list published in the *Records* in 1893. Additional letters (1823–1829) from Dr. John England, bishop of Charleston, are printed in this issue.

The *Proceedings* of the American Antiquarian Society for April, 1908, contain an elaborate inquiry into the origin of the expression "Uncle Sam", by Mr. Albert Matthews, and a calendar of the papers of Colonel John Bradstreet possessed by the society, relating chiefly to his service as quartermaster-general at Albany and to the expeditions against Frontenac in 1758 and against Detroit in 1764. The calendar is followed by the text of the chief argument of Bradstreet's counsel in the case of his New York land claims, contested by the Hardenbergh proprietors.

To the March number of the *Magazine of History* Mr. F. B. Sanborn contributes a paper on "New Hampshire Men at the Concord Fight"; and Professor I. F. Wood gives a semi-historical account of the "Anti-Rent War of Dutchess County, New York" (an episode of 1766). The original document of chief interest is a letter from Joseph Jones and Theodorick Bland to Thomas Jefferson, June, 1781. "The First Commission at Sea from Rhode Island" runs through the April and May numbers. The issues for May and June include continued papers by the Rev. Dr. Daniel Goodwin on William Blackstone and by Mr. D. T. V. Huntoon on Major-General Richard Gridley.

The Grafton Press have begun the publication of a new quarterly entitled: *The Grafton Magazine of History and Genealogy.* Among the contents of the first number are "The Society of the Cincinnati and its Future", by C. B. Alexander; "Ideal Newport of the Eighteenth Century", by William B. Weeden; "The Strange Story of Roger Williams", by Edmund J. Carpenter; "Andrew Ellicott, an Astronomer, Surveyor and Soldier of a Hundred Years ago", by Catharine Van Cortlandt Mathews.

Consanguineous Marriages in the American Population (Columbia University Studies in History, Economics and Public Law, volume XXXI., number 3, pp. 99), by G. B. L. Arner, Ph.D., in addition to its primary character, possesses also a measure of historical interest, though the discussion is not based as exclusively on American materials as the title would indicate.

Private Freight Cars and American Railways (Columbia University Studies in History, Economics and Public Law, volume XXXI., number 1, pp. 185), by L. D. H. Weld, Ph.D., is a sober, critical treatment of a subject over which there has been much agitation. The treatment is in large measure historical throughout, but chapters I. and II. are primarily historical in character, tracing the history of special equipment cars and of the part that such cars have played in the development of the country.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ITEMS ARRANGED IN CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER

The Canadian Archives has now in the press a volume containing copies of the manuscript material relating to the history of the Atlantic seaboard of Canada from 1497 to 1533. In almost every instance a fresh transcript has been made from the original manuscript. The Latin, Italian, Spanish and Portuguese documents have been translated into English but in the case of the documents in French this was not thought necessary. The volume will be preceded by a short introduction summing up the best-established results of recent inquiry in the same field.

Professor Clarence W. Alvord's excellent monograph on the *Genesis of the Proclamation of 1763*, originally published in the *Canadian Archives Report for 1906*, has been issued as a separate. The writer's purpose is "to trace to their sources the elements of the proclamation and, as far as possible, discover the motives and purposes of the men who are responsible for its form". He believes that most of his conclusions are new and "that the sum total of the points that have been made creates a new interpretation of the Proclamation of 1763".

It is understood that volume III. (The American Revolution, 1760–1789) of Professor Edward Channing's *History of the United States* is in active preparation.

The fourth and concluding volume of Professor H. A. Cushing's edition of *The Writings of Samuel Adams* has come from the press of the Putnams.

In the issue of the *Nation* of July 23 Mr. Worthington C. Ford gives an account of a little-known incident of the Revolutionary War, namely, the steps taken by the Continental Congress in the summer of 1779 toward making retaliations for destruction committed by the British troops, and prints two hitherto unpublished documents that define the attitude of Congress in the matter.

General Hull's Invasion of Canada in 1812 (reprinted from the Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, 1907–1908, pp. 80), by Lieutenant-Colonel E. Cruikshank, not only gives a detailed account of the military operations of the opposing forces, but sets forth with considerable care the disaffections and other difficulties encountered both by the British and by the Americans before and during the campaign. There has been some lack of care in the proof-reading.

Mr. Clarence M. Burton has acquired for his Detroit collection the papers of the late Colonel John Askin of Walkerville, important for the history of the War of 1812.

It is announced that Messrs. George W. Jacobs and Company are to publish in their series of *American Crisis Biographies* a biography of John Quincy Adams by his grandson, Mr. Brooks Adams. Mr. Adams has been at work upon the biography for two or three years and has made large use of new material in the possession of the family.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Chicago Historical Society is contemplating the early publication of President James K. Polk's Diary, 1845–1849, under the editorship of Charles W. Mann, professor of history in Lewis Institute. The original manuscript of the Diary, in twenty-four closely written volumes, is in the society's collections.

The Justice of the Mexican War, by Major Charles H. Owen, has been published by G. P. Putnam's Sons.

The Arthur H. Clark Company of Cleveland has lately issued a volume by Professor Perley O. Ray of Pennsylvania State College, entitled *The Genesis of the Repeal of the Missouri Compromise.*

A Compendium of the War of the Rebellion (pp. 1800), by F. H. Dyer, has been published at Cedar Rapids by the Torch Press.

Jefferson Davis: a Sketch of the Life and Character of the President of the Confederate States, by Major William T. Walthall, first appeared in the *New Orleans Times-Democrat* of December 6, 1889, the issue which announced Mr. Davis's death. This sketch has now been reprinted and forms a pamphlet of fifty-three pages. Major Walthall was for a long time secretary to Mr. Davis, and it is understood that this sketch was submitted to Mr. Davis and approved by him.

L. C. Page and Company have just published a volume entitled *Famous Cavalry Leaders,* by Charles H. L. Johnson. Among the American generals of whom biographical sketches and reminiscences are given are Stuart, Wheeler, Custer and Sheridan.

William McKinley, by Thomas C. Dawson, has been added to the *American Statesmen Series* published by Houghton, Mifflin and Company.

LOCAL ITEMS, ARRANGED IN GEOGRAPHICAL ORDER

The Macmillan Company will shortly publish *The Story of the New England Whalers,* by John R. Spears.

Factory Legislation in Maine (Columbia University Studies in History, Economics and Public Law, volume XXXIII., number 1), by E. S. Whitin, is a well prepared monograph of 145 pages of which 119 are devoted to a history of factory legislation in the state of Maine and the remaining 26 pages to a discussion of the administration of the law at the present time. A chapter is devoted to the early child labor laws, 1847–1855, another to the movement from local to state regulation, 1861–1886, three chapters to the attempts toward regulation of wages and the development of factory legislation from 1887 to 1903, and a chapter to the child labor campaign of 1905–1907.

The second (April) number of the *Massachusetts Magazine* contains the concluding portion of Dr. Frank M. Gardner's account of Colonel John Glover's Marblehead Regiment. The first of the announced series of articles on Massachusetts pioneers to other states treats of Michigan pioneers, and is by C. A. Flagg. The article is supplemented by the

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

first portion of a list of Michigan pioneers and by a list of Michigan county histories. The *Magazine* will shortly publish the diary, 1757–1776, of Ashley Bowen of Marblehead, who was at Quebec in the French and Indian War. The chief historical article in the number for July is one by Dr. F. A. Gardner on Colonel William Prescott's Regiment.

The Connecticut Historical Society has now in press and will issue early in 1909 the twelfth volume of its series of *Collections,* to be entitled "Lists and Returns of Connecticut Men in the Revolution, 1775–1783". Besides some additional records of service, the volume will show from what town almost every soldier enlisted, thus aiding materially in identifying the individual.

The administrative minutes of the magistrates of New Amsterdam from February 11, 1661, to May 20, 1664, were not included when the city of New York published, in seven volumes, *The Records of New Amsterdam.* This valuable portion of the records has lately been found in Maine by Dr. Henry S. Burrage, state historian, among the personal effects of the late Lieutenant B. E. Fernow, and returned by Dr. Burrage to the librarian of the city of New York.

Fifty Years in Wall Street, by Henry Clews, is a revised and enlarged version of the author's *Twenty-Eight Years in Wall Street,* which was published twenty years ago. The work contains portraits and sketches of many of the great speculators, and concludes with a description of the panic of 1907.

The New York of Yesterday: a Descriptive Narrative of Old Bloomingdale, by H. S. Mott, is published by Messrs. Putnam. The work contains numerous portraits, maps and other illustrations.

Centennial History of Ballston Spa, including the Towns of Ballston and Milton, by E. F. Grose, is published at Ballston Spa, New York, by the author.

One of the important features of the celebration of the 225th anniversary of the founding of the city of Philadelphia, to be held during the week October 4–10 inclusive, will be an "historic industries loan exhibit". "The purpose of this exhibit is to illustrate the economic history and to display specimens of the industries and trades of Philadelphia and its tributary region during colonial and early national periods." The directors of the exhibit are Professor Marion Dexter Learned and Mr. Albert Cook Myers.

By gift of Mrs. Charles Evart Cadwalader the Historical Society of Pennsylvania has recently acquired the military and family papers of General John Cadwalader, embracing his famous correspondence with Joseph Reed and many other manuscripts relative to the American Revolution.

The October (1907) and the January (1908) issues of the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* contain a number of

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

articles of interest and value. Among those in the October number may be mentioned: "The Bishop of London and Penn's Policy", by Charles P. Keith; "The High Water Mark of the British Invasion", by Hon. Samuel W. Pennypacker; and "Arctic Expeditions sent from the American Colonies", by E. C. Balch. Among the letters from the "Penn Papers" which appear in this issue that of chief interest is from James Tilghman to Henry Wilmot, October 2, 1774, discussing Congress and the colonial situation. Under the title "Before and After the Battle of Brandywine" are printed some extracts from the journal of Sergeant Thomas Sullivan of H. M. Forty-ninth Regiment of foot. Some further extracts, giving an account of the battle of Princeton, are printed in the January number. The leading article in the January number is "Benjamin West's Family: the American President of the Royal Academy of Arts Not a Quaker", by Charles H. Hart. Of some interest also is the diary of Clement Humphreys, bearer of the despatches to Gerry in France after the X. Y. Z. affair.

German American Annals for May and June continues Professor Learned's biography of Pastorius with an account of his writings, and contains also an interesting article on Early Music in Philadelphia, with special reference to German music, by Mr. R. R. Drummond. The life of Pastorius is concluded in the July–August number.

The *Virginia Magazine of History* for July is made up in the main of the several series of documentary publications hitherto noticed in these pages. Among the extracts from the Randolph manuscripts may be mentioned a letter from the Virginia Company to the governor and council of Virginia, August 6, 1623, and a list of titles and landowners in Virginia, 1625. The publication of the Virginia Council Journals has now been brought to May, 1743. The "Virginia Legislative Papers" in this issue are of May and June, 1776; most of them relate to the Revolutionary struggle. In the group of "Miscellaneous Colonial Documents" (1705–1711) there is a request (1707) from Maryland to Virginia for the rendition of a criminal, one of the few recorded examples of colonial requisitions of this sort.

The July *Bulletin of the Virginia State Library,* a finding list of books on American history, may be useful to historical scholars for its titles on the Civil War and on the general and local history of Virginia.

King and Queen County, Virginia, by Rev. Alfred Bagby, D. D., treats of many phases of the county's history and of the life of its people (Washington, Neale, pp. 402).

The *South Atlantic Quarterly* for July contains three articles of interest to historical students: "An Englishman's Impressions of Alabama in 1846", by Emma Langdon Roche, recounts the experiences and observations of Sir Charles Lyell, mainly in Alabama, during his second visit to the United States; Professor J. H. Reynolds discusses the Okla-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

homa Constitution; and Professor W. K. Boyd writes of "Some Intellectual Aspects of the Thirteenth Century".

The Beginning of Texas, 1684–1718 (pp. 94), by Dr. Robert C. Clark, appears as *Bulletin No. 98 of the University of Texas,* and covers with minute care the history of Fort St. Louis, the early explorations and missions and the founding of San Antonio.

The *Quarterly* of the Texas State Historical Association prints in its April issue a careful study, by Professor Herbert E. Bolton, of the "Native Tribes about the East Texas Missions". The paper is an outcome of the investigations of the history of the Texas tribes which Professor Bolton has been making for the Bureau of American Ethnology. In the same issue of the *Quarterly* is a scholarly paper by Mr. Charles W. Ramsdell on "Presidential Reconstruction in Texas". A considerable portion of the paper is devoted to the Constitutional Convention of 1866.

The Story of the Great Lakes, by Edward Channing and Marion F. Lansing, is announced by the Macmillan Company.

Ohio before 1850: a Study of the Early Influence of Pennsylvania and Southern Populations in Ohio (Columbia University Studies in History, Economics and Public Law, volume XXXI., number 2, pp. 155), by R. E. Chaddock, Ph.D., is a thoughtful examination of the social forces at work in the formative period of one of the first Western states. The author traces the sources of Ohio's population before 1850 (largely from Pennsylvania and the South, and probably the largest single element Scotch-Irish), narrates the triumph of democracy and individualism over Federalist ideas, and shows how anti-slavery ideas finally prevailed over a sentiment largely pro-slavery, or at the least indifferent toward the institution of slavery. There is a chapter on the early religious influences in southern Ohio and one on the early social life and education in the state.

An article entitled "Major Caleb Stark in Ohio", by George H. Twiss, which appears in the April issue of the *Ohio Archaeological Quarterly,* includes a petition of Major Stark to the general assembly of Ohio relative to lands granted to General John Stark, and is followed by a biographical sketch of Robert Lucas, governor of Ohio from 1832 to 1836, reprinted from an Ohio newspaper of 1834. The *Quarterly* also reprints in this issue the speech of William Henry Harrison, June 11, 1840, at Fort Meigs, Ohio. The most interesting matter in the issue for July is an article on John Sherman, by Mr. George U. Harn, an intimate local friend. There is also a detailed historical article by the editor, Mr. E. O. Randall, on Tallmadge township, apropos of its centennial celebration. In the October number the society will publish the journal kept by George Washington during his journey down the Ohio in 1770. In the same publication will also appear the begin-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ning of a translation of the history of David Zeisberger relating to the Ohio Indians.

The Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio has issued a page-for-page reprint of Daniel Drake's *Notices concerning Cincinnati,* which was originally issued in two parts in 1810 and has become exceedingly rare. Part I. of the *Notices* constitutes the January–March issue of the society's *Quarterly Publication,* and part II. and appendix the issue for April–June.

Dr. Harlow Lindley, director of the Department of Archives and History of Indiana, contributes to the June number of the *Indiana Quarterly Magazine of History* some account of the state archives, together with a statement of what his department has done and what it plans to do. There is also a suggestive editorial, mainly upon the same theme.

Indiana Baptist History, 1798–1908 (pp. 381), by W. T. Stott, is published by the author at Knightstown, Indiana.

The Chicago Historical Society will publish this autumn as volume V. of its *Collections,* a volume on "The Settlement of Illinois, 1778–1830", by Professor Arthur C. Boggess, Ph.D., of Pacific University.

Old Kentucky, "a history of the Blue Grass state from its earliest settlement to the present day", by J. F. Cook, is published by Messrs. Neale.

It is announced that a volume on *Wisconsin,* by Dr. R. G. Thwaites, and one on *Minnesota,* by Professor W. W. Folwell, are to be added to the *American Commonwealth Series* published by Houghton, Mifflin and Company.

The Torch Press, Cedar Rapids, Iowa, has published *The Sioux Indians—a History* (pp. 523), by Doane Robinson. The author, who is superintendent of the South Dakota Historical Society, has consulted the Canadian archives as well as those of the War Department and the Indian Office of the United States. The work is illustrated with portraits and maps.

In the *Annals of Iowa* for July, Professor F. I. Herriott continues his papers on "Iowa and the First Nomination of Abraham Lincoln". Considerable space is devoted to an examination of the impressions, as revealed in the newspapers of the time, made in Iowa by the Lincoln-Douglas debates. Several letters bearing upon the early history of Iowa appear in this issue of the *Annals.*

Two extensive articles make up the body of the July issue of the *Iowa Journal of History and Politics.* Mr. Dan E. Clark resumes his "History of Liquor Legislation in Iowa", the present article covering the period 1861–1878, and Mr. F. H. Garver traces with some detail the "History of the Establishment of Counties in Iowa". Mr. Garver's paper is accompanied by sixteen well-executed maps.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The articles of chief note in the July issue of the *Missouri Historical Review,* published by the State Historical Society of Missouri, is an account of the archives at Jefferson City, by Jonas Viles. Mr. Joel Spencer contributes a biographical sketch of Rev. Jesse Walker, "the Apostle of the Wilderness", who did important mission work in Missouri in the early part of the nineteenth century.

Volume II. of the *Publications* of the Arkansas Historical Association is now in the press and will appear in December. It will contain the official orders issued, July, 1863–November, 1864, by Governor Flannagin in his capacity as commander-in-chief of the militia of Arkansas. It also will contain a chapter on Confederate manufactures in southern Arkansas, one on the Carpet-Bag Constitutional Convention of 1868 by a member of the convention, and others on reconstruction in Arkansas County, the history of taxation in Arkansas, etc.

The leading article in the *Quarterly* of the Oregon Historical Society for June is a sketch by T. C. Elliott of Robert Newell, a pioneer of Oregon of some prominence. To the same issue W. C. Winslow contributes a brief account of the contests over the capital of Oregon.

A Mission Record of the California Indians (pp. 27), edited by A. L. Kroeber, is issued as one of the University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology.

McLoughlin Brothers have published *Memoirs of Cornelius Cole,* senator of the United States from California from 1869 to 1873. His reminiscences are said to "throw much new light on matter connected with the government from 1850 to 1872, and supplement the local histories of the West covering this period".

Professor H. E. Egerton has published the second or historical part of volume V. (Canada) in the *Historical Geography of the British Colonies.*

Henry Holt and Company have published a volume of lectures on *Canadian Types of the Old Régime,* by Professor Charles W. Colby of McGill University. Such characters as Champlain, Brébeuf, Hébert, D'Iberville, Talon, Laval and Frontenac are the central figures of the work.

Search for the Western Sea, by Mr. Lawrence J. Burpee, of Ottawa, is the story of the exploration of northwestern Canada, in the preparation of which much use has been made of manuscripts in the Canadian archives.

York Factory to the Blackfeet Country; the Journal of Anthony Hendry, 1754–1755 (pp. 58) has been reprinted from the transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, 1907–1908 (Ottawa, 1908). Hendry's journey, from Hudson Bay to the region of the present Alberta, was undertaken in the interest of the Hudson's Bay Company and occupied almost exactly a year. The journal, consisting mainly of brief memo-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

randa descriptive of the country traversed and of incidents, is ably edited by Lawrence J. Burpee. There are several illustrations and two maps.

The North-West Passage: Being the Record of a Voyage of Exploration of the Ship "Gjoa" in the years 1903–1907, by Roald Amundsen, with a supplement by Lieutenant Godfrey Hansen, vice-commander of the expedition, recently published in the United States by Messrs. Dutton, is appearing also in Norwegian, Swedish, Finnish, Russian, German and Italian.

In an article in the fourth volume of the *Journal de la Société des Américanistes de Paris* entitled "Découverte de Trois Précieux Ouvrages du Métis Péruvien Blas Valera", Señor Manuel Gonzáles de la Rosa maintains that the history of Peru known to have been written before 1590 by the half-Indian Jesuit Blas Valera upon the basis of Quichua and Aymara authorities is embedded in Garcilasso, giving to the latter's book a much higher authority than it has been supposed to have; that another historical book of Valera may similarly be discovered in the *Memorias* of Fernando Montesinos; and that a portion of another of his works may be seen in print in the form of an anonymous relation printed in 1879 by Jiménez de la Espada. The evidences for these conclusions, important to the early history of Peru if demonstrated, are understood to have been recently printed by Señor González in the *Revista Histórica* of Lima.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: G. L. Beer, *The Early English Colonial Movement* (Political Science Quarterly, March, June); Anna Youngman, *The Fortune of John Jacob Astor* (Journal of Political Economy, April, July); Edith Abbott, *A Study of the Early History of Child Labor in America* (American Journal of Sociology, July); St. G. L. Sioussat, *Tennessee and the Removal of the Cherokees* (Sewanee Review, July); W. M. Sloane, *George Bancroft* (Atlantic Monthly, August); W. H. Crook, *Andrew Johnson in the White House* (Century Magazine, September).

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED